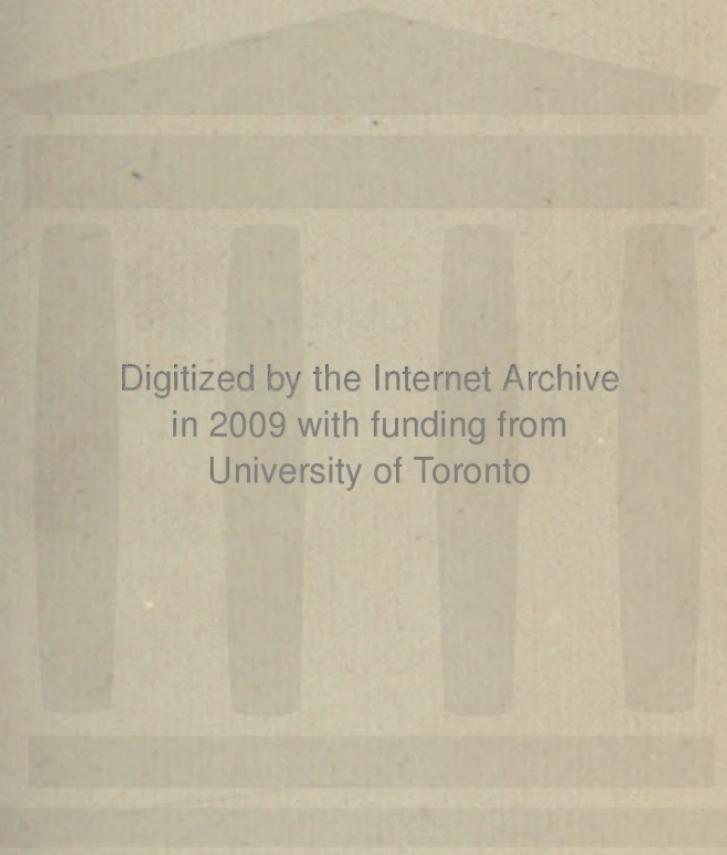


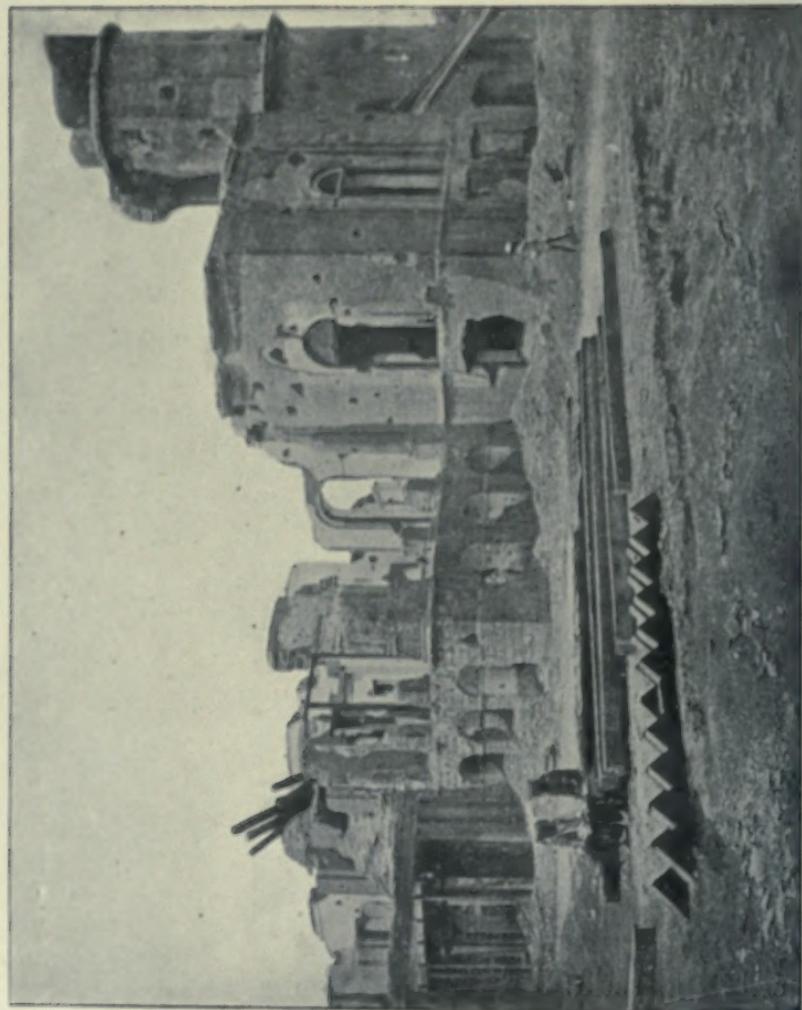


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A HISTORY OF
THE INDIAN MUTINY



THE LUCKNOW RESIDENCY,

(AFTER THE SIEGE.)

A HISTORY
OF
THE INDIAN MUTINY

REVIEWED AND ILLUSTRATED FROM ORIGINAL
DOCUMENTS

BY

G. W. FORREST, C.I.E.

EX-DIRECTOR OF RECORDS, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

VOL. II.

HAVELOCK'S SUCCOUR OF THE LUCKNOW RESIDENCY—
THE SECOND DEFENCE—RELIEF BY SIR COLIN CAMPBELL
—OUTRAM'S DEFENCE OF THE ALUM BAGH—SIEGE AND
CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW

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27/2/05.

WITH MAPS, PLANS, AND PORTRAITS

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON

MCMIV

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HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY

CHAPTER XXVI

"WRITE to Sir James Outram that I wish him to return to India immediately, and the same to General Jacob. We want all our best men here." Such was the telegram that Lord Canning sent to Lord Elphinstone. The Governor of Bombay forwarded it to the Commander of the Persian Expeditionary Force with a letter, and Outram lost no time in obeying the summons. On the 26th of June he arrived at Bombay. On the 9th of July, as no instructions had reached him,¹ he set sail for Galle, intending to avail himself of the first opportunity to continue his voyage to the Hugli. On the 31st of July he reached Calcutta. On Friday, August 1st, Lady Canning wrote: "The steamer arrived, and brought Sir J. Outram, whom we have squeezed into the house. He is a very dark-looking Jewish-bearded little man, with a desponding,

Arrival of
Outram at
Calcutta,
31st July.

¹ "After Sir James Outram's departure from Bombay Lord Elphinstone received a telegram from the Governor-General to the effect that he should be placed in command of the troops in Central India; but a subsequent telegram ruled his despatch to Calcutta. A copy of the former was put into the General's hands at Madras, but fortunately no steamer was there available to admit of his return. The *Nelid* had just left the roads on her way to Suez."—"Life of James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, p. 191.

slow, hesitating manner, very unlike descriptions, or rather the idea raised in one's mind by his old Bombay name of the 'Bayard of the East,' and this year's Bombay saying of 'A fox is a fool and a lion a coward by the side of Sir J. Outram.' He never can have done the things Sir C. Napier accuses him of, but he is not the least my idea of a hero." At the time when action came to be demanded of him the little man with a slow desponding manner proved that he had a strength and valour rarely exemplified among men. And when a great act of self-abnegation was required of him, he proved the heroic character of his nature and made good his title to his old Bombay name, "The Bayard of the East."

Lord
Canning's
minute.

On the 2nd of August Lord Canning circulated the following minute among his colleagues : "The mutiny of three regiments of Native Infantry at Dinapore on the 24th ultimo, and the disastrous result which has followed the attempt to relieve Arrah, against which the mutineers directed their first movements, has very seriously diminished the hope of preserving the peace of the Lower Provinces along the valley of the Ganges from Berhampore to Benares, and in the neighbourhood of the Trunk Road south of Benares. Our communications with Benares and Allahabad are threatened, and our chief sources of revenue in Bengal are in jeopardy. Upon the first account of the events at Dinapore, Major-General Lloyd was removed from the command of the division. There was, upon his own showing, no room for doubt that he had been guilty

of grievous mismanagement and neglect. It is now necessary that the military command in that part of India should, without a day's delay, be placed in the ablest and most trustworthy hands; and in present circumstances the authority of the commander will be exercised with much greater advantage if it be extended over the adjoining division of Cawnpore as well. The arrival yesterday of Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram in Calcutta happily makes the services of that distinguished officer available to the Government of India at this juncture; and I propose that the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions should be combined in one command and entrusted to Sir James Outram." The minute was concurred in by the honourable colleagues of the Governor-General. Mr Dorin wrote: "I consider the appointment of Sir James Outram to the proposed command most desirable, but I think it very doubtful whether we shall be able to hold the Cawnpore Division and at the same time provide for the tranquillity of our richest Bengal districts. I shall be quite prepared to find it necessary to withdraw our troops as low as Allahabad, and to endeavour to maintain the provinces of Bengal and Behar in security till reinforcements arrive from England. Telegraphic communication with Benares is already cut off, and it is questionable whether the Grand Trunk Road continues open. Our handful of European troops is totally unequal to attempt extensive operations, and it seems to me wiser to endeavour to hold the country of which we are reasonably

sure than risk the loss of the whole by wasting our force at distant points which in our present weak position are of very little practical value." Major-General Low cordially concurred "as to the wisdom of conferring on Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram the command of all the troops in the divisions of Dinapore and Cawnpore." "I don't participate," he added, "in the opinion of Mr Dorin that there is a probability of our finding it necessary to withdraw our troops from the latter important station." Mr Grant agreed to Sir James Outram's appointment to both divisions, but "the question of holding on or drawing in is not now for practical solution before us. In either event this appointment is the best that can be made." Barnes Peacock, always clear and forcible, wrote: "I concur entirely in the proposal of the Right Honourable the Governor-General. I trust that it will not be necessary to abandon Cawnpore. Such a measure must necessarily be fraught with the greatest mischief, and it will require much anxious consideration before it is reverted to."

Sir James
Outram
appointed
to com-
mand the
Dinapore
and Cawn-
pore Divi-
sions, 4th
August.

On the 4th of August was issued the following General Order:—

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to make the following appointment—

"Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., of the Bombay Army, to command the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions, which are to be combined in one command."

The action of Lord Canning and his colleagues has

been severely criticised, and a good deal of tawdry rhetoric has been poured forth on the subject. It has been urged that Havelock was superseded "by a feeble Government when their hopes had not been fulfilled," and that the authorities were guilty of a gross breach of courtesy in allowing him to hear the first news of Outram's appointment through the medium of a copy of the General Orders. There was no supersession.¹ Havelock did not hold, and never had held, "the command of the Cawnpore Division." He was a Brigadier-General commanding a field force. His rank did not entitle him to command a division. And if his rank had entitled him, it would have been most unwise for the Government to have removed him from the command of the field force which had crossed the Ganges and was on its way to Lucknow. Outram was appointed to the Dinapore Division to restore order in Bengal and Behar and secure the base of our operations. His authority was extended to the Cawnpore Division because Allahabad in that division was the important strategical point to which all supplies of ammunition and stores were to be forwarded, and on it all reinforcements

¹ "Supercession! The first thought of a feeble Government when their hopes have not been entirely fulfilled! With what confidence could any man serve a Government which acted in this manner towards one who had shown, by his daring, his self-negation, his devotion, by his success whenever success was possible, that he had never despaired of the safety of his country. It was not in this way that Rome treated her generals. Terentius Varro carried rashness to its extreme when he fought Hannibal; yet, recognising the patriotism of his motives, Rome received Varro with applause."—"The Indian Mutiny," by Kaye and Malleson, vol. iii. p. 345.

were to be concentrated. Lord Canning wanted no break of authority from Calcutta to Lucknow. He had learnt from bitter experience that it was necessary, in order to overcome the reluctance, fears, and selfishness of the local powers, to tear the reinforcements from their grasp, and, to push them on without delay to the support of Havelock's force, to appoint a strong man with full power and without break of authority. With regard to Havelock, his hopes at the time had been amply fulfilled. Havelock had fought his way to Cawnpore, and had crossed the Ganges and won two victories. The same day that Canning proposed to his colleagues the appointment of Outram, Lady Canning wrote in her journal letter : "*Sunday, August 2nd.—General Outram goes up to Dinapore on Thursday, and commands that and the Cawnpore Division.*" At the close of the letter Lady Canning remarks : "I was forgetting to say how brilliantly good old General Havelock goes on. He has fought the Lucknow force twice, if not three times, and has taken three guns. In one battle his two thousand men (less, I believe) drove thirteen thousand before them ! and took twelve guns. Then he walked straight into a walled town. Here, I grieve to say, he had some loss, but nothing to that of the enemy. We cannot spare these real heroes." The foregoing testifies that on the day Lord Canning proposed the extension of Outram's authority over the Cawnpore Division there was no lack of confidence in Havelock at Government House. Three days after the appointment had appeared in the Gazette, Sir

Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-Chief, wrote to Havelock : " I leave you to the unfettered exercise of your own judgment, assured that you will do whatever is best for the public service ; and God grant that you may be able to avert from Lucknow the frightful atrocities committed at Cawnpore." When that letter was written Havelock's return to Cawnpore was never anticipated. No mention is made of Outram's appointment. The simple explanation of this silence seems to be that neither the Governor-General nor the Commander-in-Chief had any idea that it would in any way affect Havelock. It was most unfortunate that the first intimation of the appointment should have been conveyed to Havelock by a printed copy of the General Orders. But the painful incident was due to a circumstance which could not have been foreseen—Havelock's return to Cawnpore.¹

On the night of the 6th of August Outram embarked on board a river steamer bound for Allahabad. He took with him Mr W. J. Money,

¹ Regarding Sir James Outram's appointment, Lord Canning wrote as follows to the Chairman of the Court of Directors : " There is no need of his services in Rajputana, and I proposed to him to take the command of the two military divisions of Dinapore and Cawnpore, his first duty being to restore order in Bengal and Behar, for which purpose every European soldier not absolutely necessary for the peace of Calcutta and Barrackpore would be at his disposal. He undertook the charge eagerly, and left Calcutta on his passage up the river on the 6th. For the moment everything must give way to the necessity of arresting rebellion or general disorder below Benares." In another letter he remarked : " Outram's arrival was a God-send. There was not a man to whom I could with any approach to confidence intrust the command in Bengal and the Central Provinces."—" Life of Sir James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, vol. ii. p. 196.

Robert
Napier.

C.S., as his Private Secretary, Lieutenants Sitwell and Chamier as Aides-de-Camp, and Robert Napier of the Engineers as his Military Secretary and Chief of the Staff. Napier's experience of war began with the eventful and momentous struggle called the first Sutlej campaign. He commanded the Engineers at the battle of Moodki, where he had a horse killed under him. He was present at the great battle of Ferozeshah (21st December 1845), where he also had a horse shot under him, and having joined the 31st Regiment of Foot, he was severely wounded when storming the intrenched Sikh camp. But this did not prevent him from being present a few weeks later at the crowning victory of Sobraon (10th February 1846). He was with Brigadier-General Wheeler as Commanding Engineer in the force sent to reduce the hill fort of Kotie Kangra, and it was due to his extraordinary skill and energy that thirty-three guns and mortars dragged by elephants were taken over mountain-paths and the surrender of the fort secured. In recognition of his splendid services in that campaign Napier received, besides the medal and two clasps, the special thanks of Government, and was promoted Brevet-Major (3rd April 1846). At the earnest request of Herbert Edwardes he was sent to aid in the siege of Multan (1848), where he for some time acted as Commanding Engineer, and was wounded at the storming of the intrenched position. He was at the action of Surjkend and the final storm and surrender of the rebellious fortress (23rd January 1849). He was with Lord Gough at the battle of

Gujerat, accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert in his pursuit of the defeated Sikhs, and was present at the passage of the Jhelum, the surrender of the Sikh army, and the surprise at Attock. He was again mentioned in despatches, received the war medal and two clasps, and was promoted Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel (17th June 1849). The next three years Napier was occupied in carrying out magnificent works of material improvement in the newly acquired province. It was under his direction that the great highway from Lahore to Peshawar was constructed, and canals which transformed deserts into cultivated fields were begun and completed. New cantonments were planned and laid out; the frontier defences were strengthened, and to take part in frontier warfare Napier quitted for a short period his civil work. He commanded in December 1852 the right column in the first Black Mountain Hazara expedition, and in the following year he was also engaged in a similar expedition against the Bori clan of the Jawadi Afridis in the Peshawar district. He received the special thanks of Government for his services, and the medal and clasp, and was promoted Brevet-Colonel in the army (28th November 1854). Two years after, he was appointed, at John Lawrence's earnest request, Chief Engineer of the Punjab. "I am very glad," said John Lawrence on May 6, 1854, "that the Governor-General has given Napier the Chief Engineership. He is a fine fellow, and there cannot be a question that he is the man who should get it. The work he has done since annexation is enormous,

and would have killed many men."¹ In April 1856 Napier became regimental Lieutenant-Colonel, and the same autumn went on furlough to England. Sailing from England in May 1857, before news of the great revolt had reached home, he arrived at Calcutta at the end of the month, and was officiating Chief Engineer at Bengal when he was nominated by Outram to be his Military Secretary and Chief of the Staff. A more gifted and safer adviser could not have been chosen. Daring and resolute, he was also endowed with two quiet attributes which won him the warm confidence and unaffected attachment of men. He had singular modesty as well as simplicity of character. His personal tastes were those rather of a student than of a soldier. He had a great love of art and of books—especially of poetry—but his vigorous mind had been early drawn away from the ideal to the practical, and he made himself a master of the science of the civil and military engineer, and acquired a sound knowledge of the business of war, which had been improved by the practical skill only to be gained in the field. In after-years, when Outram was asked who was the best soldier he had come in contact with, he replied without hesitation "Robert Napier."

On the evening of the 15th of August Outram's

¹ "And years afterwards, when the Abyssinian war was in prospect, and John Lawrence was asked whom he would send as Commander-in-Chief, 'So-and-so would do,' he said, 'pretty well; but if you want the thing thoroughly well done,' and he doubtless thought, as he spoke, of the Grand Trunk Road and the Bari-Doab Canal, 'go to Napier.'"—"Life of John Lawrence," by R. Bosworth Smith, vol. i. p. 404.

steamer anchored off Bhagulpore, where he landed to inspect the defensive preparations of Mr Yule, the Commissioner, "which I found everything I could desire." He left shortly after daybreak on the 16th, and arriving at Dinapore on the 19th—where he found a panic prevailing—he learnt that the 90th Regiment, which had passed up the river four days before, had been recalled. "I immediately despatched an express to prohibit the return of the regiment, but unfortunately it did not reach in time to stop the return vessels, which came back yesterday evening, and I regret to say with cholera on board."¹ Having made arrangements for the protection of the station, and having ordered a detachment of 100 men of the 90th Regiment, which had been kept back here, to rejoin the regiment,² he proceeded on his voyage. From Dinapore Outram wrote a long letter, dated the 19th of August, to the Governor-General, in which he stated—

"I propose taking on two guns of the battery here (leaving the mountain train for service in Behar, if necessary hereafter, for which I intended it), and also Major Eyre's battery to Benares, where I intend, if practicable, to organise a column to advance to Lucknow through Jaunpore, between the Sye and Goomtee rivers, the only course now left by which we can hope to relieve our garrison in Lucknow; General Havelock having again retired from the attempt, and recrossed the Ganges to Cawnpore, unable, I imagine, to cross the Sye in

Letter
from
Outram to
Governor-
General,
19th
August.

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 190.

² Ibid., pp. 190, 191.

Proposes
to relieve
Lucknow
by Jaun-
pore.

the face of the enemy, the bridge having been destroyed. In addition to the artillery above mentioned, I can only have the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Regiment, so weakened by detachments as to amount together to less than 1000 men, some of the Goorkhas, perhaps, and the Madras Regiment, now on its way up the river; but I hope to arrange with General Havelock to effect a junction with such troops as he can forward from Cawnpore, to cross the Ganges about Futtehpore, and pass the Sye near Rye Bareilly. My column, having effected its way so far, would there prepare rafts (on inflated skins) by which these reinforcements would cross the Sye. We should then be in sufficient strength, I trust, to force our way to Lucknow."

Outram's
telegram
to the
Commander-in-
Chief.

On the next day, the 20th of August, Outram sent the following message to Sir Colin Campbell, who had assumed the office of Commander-in-Chief in India: "Beg to refer to letter I yesterday addressed to Governor-General, stating manner in which I purpose relieving Lucknow (not prudent to entrust to telegraph), which would necessitate disembarking 5th and 90th Regiments at Benares instead of Allahabad. If not approved, Your Excellency's orders by telegraph may reach me at Benares by the time those regiments can get there." On the same day Havelock telegraphed from Cawnpore:

Havelock's
telegram
to the
Commander-in-
Chief.

"My force, which lost men in action, and has been assailed in the most awful way by cholera, is reduced to 700 in the field, exclusive of detachments which guard the intrenchments here, and keep open communication with Allahabad. I am threatened by a

force of 5000 men from Gwalior, with some twenty or thirty guns. I am ready to fight anything ; but the above are great odds, and a battle lost here would do the interest of the State much damage. I solicit Your Excellency to send me reinforcements. I can then assume the initiative, and march to Agra and Delhi, wherever my services may be required. With 2000 British soldiers nothing could stand before me and my powerful artillery. I shall soon have equipped eighteen guns, six of siege calibre ; but I want artillermen and officers, and infantry soldiers." This despatch had hardly gone forth when Havelock received a message from the Commander-in-Chief which brought him consolation in the darkest season of his career. Sir Colin Campbell telegraphed : "The sustained energy, promptitude, and vigorous action by which your whole proceedings have been marked during the late difficult operations deserve the highest praise, and it will be a most agreeable duty to me to make known to his Lordship, the Governor-General, the sense I entertain of the able manner in which you have carried out the instructions of Sir Patrick Grant. I beg you to express to the officers and men of the different corps under your command the pride and satisfaction I have experienced in reading your reports of the intrepid valour they have displayed upon every occasion they have encountered the vastly superior numbers of the enemy, and how nobly they have maintained those qualities for which the British soldiers have ever been distinguished—high courage and endurance. I entirely

Telegram
from the
Commander-in-
Chief to
Havelock.

concur in the soundness of the view you have taken of your position in your telegraph of the 6th instant from Mungulwar, and of all the reasons which influenced you to defer for the present active operations."¹ The next morning Havelock sent the following answer :—

Havelock's answer. " I cannot express the gratification with which I have perused Your Excellency's telegram of the 19th instant, which has just reached me. The approbation of my operations and views conveyed to me by so distinguished a soldier, more than repays me for the labours and responsibilities of two arduous campaigns, undertaken, of necessity, at a most unpropitious season ; my soldiers will as highly and deeply value Your Excellency's commendation. I am for the present unable to give them shelter from the extreme inclemency of the weather, and the repose of which they stand in need ; but sickness continues in our ranks—we lose men by cholera in the number of six daily. I will frankly make known to Your Excellency my prospects for the future. If I can receive prompt reinforcements, so as to make up my force to 2000 or to 2500 men, I can hold this place with a high hand ; protect my communications with anything that comes against me ; and be ready to take a part in active operations on the cessation of the rains. I may be attacked from Gwalior by the mutinous contingent, with 5000 men and 30 guns, or by the Goorkhas,² which are assembling at Furruckabad

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 186.

² Ibid., p. 192. Goorkhas in original.

under rebellious Nababs, which have also a formidable artillery; but as they can partly unite, I can defeat either or both in fight; but if regiments cannot be sent me, I see no alternative but abandoning for a time the advantages I have gained in this part of India and retiring upon Allahabad, where everything will be organised for a triumphant advance in the cold season."

Havelock only stated what, under certain contingencies, must be inevitable. He could defeat the rebels in fight, but he could not supply the waste of a force which cholera was destroying. If prompt reinforcements were not sent, he saw no other alternative but withdrawal from Cawnpore to Allahabad. He had no inclination to retire, he made no suggestion. "I have endeavoured," he added, "briefly to state my case, and must leave the decision of the important question involved in it to Your Excellency. I do most earnestly hope that you will be able to provide for prompt reinforcement." And Colin Campbell acted with prompt celerity. That night, August the 22nd, he sent the following message to Outram: "The force under General Havelock is reduced, by casualties on service, and by cholera, which has been and still rages in his camp, to 700 men in the field, exclusive of detachments which guard the intrenchment and keep open the communication with Allahabad. He is threatened by a force of some 5000 men, with some twenty or thirty guns, from Gwalior, besides the Oudh Force. He says, he 'is ready to fight anything, but the above

Telegram
from Com-
mander-
in-Chief to
Outram,
23rd
August.

are great odds, and a battle lost would do the interest of the State infinite damage; I solicit reinforcements.' His applications for assistance have been frequent, and, deeming his situation to demand immediate aid, I ordered the 90th Regiment to be sent to him with all possible speed, as also the detachment of the 5th Regiment which was on board the *Benares* [sic] steamer, if it could be spared. Pray send the 90th Regiment at once to his aid. I will write to you to-morrow."

Telegram
from Com-
mander-
in-Chief to
Havelock,
23rd
August.

Early next morning the Commander-in-Chief informed Havelock that he had on the 18th entreated Outram to send him without delay the 90th, and also a detachment of the Fusiliers if the latter could be spared. He added: "I despatched another telegram at 11.45 P.M. on the 22nd instant (last night), repeating my entreaty to send you the 90th. I sent this telegram to Benares, as well as Dinapore." With the views expressed in Havelock's appeal for reinforcements Sir Colin expressed his entire concurrence. "I agree in all that you say about your position, and from the moment of my arrival have felt your being made strong at Cawnpore to be of the first importance. The detention of this regiment, and other detachments, by the local authorities at different points, while on their way to Allahabad, I deeply regret. I have no artillery. . . . Captain Peel, Royal Navy, with 500 sailors and ten 8-inch guns with ammunition, &c., left this on the 20th for Allahabad."

The following day Sir Colin communicated to Outram a telegram he had just received from Have-

lock : " Mr Tucker, Civil Commissioner at Benares, informs me that it is the intention of Sir James Outram to ascend the Gogra and relieve Lucknow by Fyzabad, and that Sir James desires my co-operation by making a demonstration of recrossing the Ganges ; even to do more, by striving to regain my strong position of Mungulwar, or more nearly approaching Lucknow. But I must have fresh troops to enable me to do either of these." ¹ The Commander - in - Chief went on to say : " Hope of co-operation from General Havelock is therefore not to be entertained. The march from Benares by the most direct road to Lucknow is a long one, some 150 miles, and the population through which you would pass hostile. Its great recommendation I presume to be that you would turn, or rather come in rear of, the many nullahs which, I am told, interpose between Cawnpore and Lucknow. This would be an important advantage. But if the force you propose to collect at Benares were to be moved by the river to Cawnpore and united to Havelock's reduced numbers, do you think it would be equal to force its way over the numerous nullahs, full of water at this season, on the road from the latter place to Lucknow ? By this route all encumbrances, such as sick, &c., would be left at the different

Telegram
from Com-
mander-
in-Chief to
Outram,
24th
August.

¹ " State Papers," vol. ii. p. 199.

" Now it must be clearly understood that the idea of taking this route was not Outram's at all, but that of the Commissioner of Benares himself. The former (as we have seen) had never approved or entertained this scheme, and only warranted mention of it to General Havelock as a recommendation of Mr Tucker's ventilated for the purpose of misleading the enemy."—"James Outram," by Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., p. 208.

stations or posts along the road, and the troops in being conveyed by steam would suffer less than if obliged to march and reach Cawnpore many days earlier, besides relieving Havelock's anxiety about his post. In offering these remarks or suggestions to you, who are acquainted with the country, the people and the difficulties attending the movements you propose, it is not with any view to fetter your judgment or perfect freedom of action."

Arrival of
Outram at
Benares,
28th
August.

CHAPTER XXVII

ON reaching Benares, August the 28th, Outram found Sir Colin's promised letter. It began with these words: "I am extremely happy, and deem myself most fortunate, to find myself associated with you on service, and to have the advantage of your able assistance in carrying on the duty in which we are now engaged."¹ After informing him that Havelock had stated that his force had been reduced to 700 men in the field exclusive of the detachments required to guard his intrenchments and keep open his communication with Allahabad, he proceeded to state, word for word, the remarks and suggestions he had made in his telegram regarding the relief of Lucknow by Jaunpore. Outram also received a telegram from the Governor-General endorsing the views of the Chief. Lord Canning, like Sir Colin, allowed Outram a free hand. "But the road by Jaunpore may have advantages of which I am not aware; and I am confident that your deliberate judgment will decide for the best. It is not probable that the relief of the Lucknow garrison will

¹ From Sir Colin Campbell, Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir J. Outram, Commanding the Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 200.

be facilitated by the abandonment of Cawnpore; but if this should be the case, do not hesitate to abandon it. The political importance of it, and the cost of recovering it, are not to be weighed against the relief of Lucknow."¹ Outram had, however, already abandoned the project. At Ghazeepore he had received the Commander-in-Chief's telegram first informing him of the critical state of Havelock's force, and a few hours after the receipt of the message he sent late at night the following answer: "Received your message of the 22nd instant this evening. In accordance with these orders, the 90th Regiment complete means three companies coming from Calcutta, and such portion of the 5th as I have collected, will be sent on by steamer to Allahabad, and thence pushed on by quickest means practicable. This prevents my carrying out any intended advance to the relief of Lucknow from Jaunpore or Rye Bareilly, as proposed in my letter to the Governor-General from Dinapore, dated 20th instant, no other European troops being available; but the necessity for reinforcing General Havelock seems imperative." When Outram put forward the proposal to advance by Jaunpore he had been wrongly informed that the bridge over the Sye had been destroyed, and he considered that its destruction rendered the Cawnpore route physically impracticable, as a small force could not force the passage of the river against the rebel host. When he heard of Havelock's critical

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 202.

condition being due to want of men, he at once abandoned the scheme.

From Benares Outram despatched a telegram to Havelock to the effect that he intended to push on at once with reinforcements to Allahabad, and that on September the 5th he hoped to join him at Cawnpore. During the voyage Outram had been greatly distressed and annoyed at the idea of superseding Havelock, and one day on board he said to his Military Secretary, "I know what I will do,—I will go in my political capacity." This decision he communicated to Havelock in words befitting a goodly and gallant gentleman: "I shall join you with the reinforcements, but to you shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already so nobly struggled. I shall accompany you only in my civil capacity as Commissioner, placing my military services at your disposal, should you please to make use of me, serving under you as a volunteer. Encourage the Lucknow garrison to hold on. Spare no cost in effecting communication with Colonel Inglis."¹ Outram made known the proposed arrangement to the Commander-in-Chief, who communicated the matter to the Governor-General. Lord Canning expressed "himself in the warmest terms of admiration" of "the truly handsome and generous proposals reported," and Colin Campbell added, "God grant you may succeed."

¹ "James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 207.

Arrival of
Outram at
Allahabad,
1st Sep-
tember.

On the 1st of September Outram reached Allahabad. On the 3rd of September arrived the steamer and flat conveying Major Eyre's battery and a portion of the 5th Fusiliers, and on the next day the steamer containing the headquarters of the 90th. The 4th was occupied in landing and putting together the guns; with the morning the battery went forth with the first detachment towards Cawnpore. The force, amounting in all to about 653 men and 20 officers,¹ consisted of her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and a few men of the 64th and 84th Regiments, besides Eyre's artillery and two 8-inch howitzers. The same night Outram left Allahabad with the 90th Regiment, consisting of 28 officers and 646 men.² At the second stage he was joined by a company of 89 rank and file from Benares. On the fourth day definite information reached Outram that a party of 400 rebels, intended only to be the advanced-guard of a larger force, had crossed over to the right bank with four guns, with the intention of cutting off his communication with Allahabad and ravaging the country. He at once directed Major Eyre to proceed against them, taking 100 Europeans from the 5th and 50 from the 64th Regiment, all mounted on elephants, with two guns. They were to be joined at a neighbouring village by a squadron of the 12th Irregulars under Captain Johnson.³ "As Major Eyre commands the party,"

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 211.

² Ibid., p. 212.

³ "They had hastened from Benares by forced marches to overtake Sir James Outram, and when they joined Major Eyre, had been twenty-

wrote Outram to Havelock, "he will succeed, if any one can, in discomfiting the scoundrels." And Eyre did succeed in discomfiting the rebels. After marching forty miles he came up at daybreak with the enemy, who fled precipitately to their boats about half a mile off. "I ordered the cavalry, under Captain Johnson and Lieutenant Havelock, to pursue them, and followed up myself, with all practicable speed, with the infantry and guns. We found the cavalry had driven the enemy into their boats, which were fastened to the shore, and were maintaining a brisk fire on them from the bank above.¹ On the arrival of the detachments of her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and 64th Foot under Captains Johnson² and Turner, the fire of our

Eyre's ex-
pedition to
Kosindun
Puttee.

four hours in the saddle, and required rest."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, p. 394.

"I take this opportunity of mentioning that the detachment of the 12th Irregulars had already marched twenty-four miles when they received the sudden order to join me at Hutgaon, and although both men and horses had been a whole day without food, they galloped on the whole way to meet me, a distance of nine miles further, guided by that energetic officer, Lieutenant Dawson, of the . . . , who also took a conspicuous part in their subsequent operations."—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 218.

¹ "Lieutenant Johnson, with prompt decision and great judgment, dismounted the greater portion of his men, and by a continued carbine fire succeeded in preventing the removal of the boats till the European infantry could come up."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, p. 394.

² He was severely wounded in General Havelock's relief of Lucknow, and died of his wounds.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 225.

"My poor friend, the brave Captain Johnson, 5th Fusiliers, is no more. He possessed all the elements that constitute a true soldier. . . . I knew him from his boyhood. He held his first commission in the 60th, where he was the object of much regard. On many occasions he performed far more than what mere duty required, till at length, in the pride and flower of manhood, he died as became a soldier."—"Journal of an English Officer in India," by Major North, p. 211.

musketry into the densely crowded boats was most telling, but the enemy still defended themselves to the utmost, until the guns under Lieutenant Gordon opened fire, when the rebels instantly threw themselves, panic-stricken, into the river." A few only escaped.

Arrival of
Outram at
Cawnpore,
15th Sep-
tember.

The rebels did not again attempt to molest Outram's force, and at dusk, September the 15th, he arrived at Cawnpore. Havelock welcomed his former commander and old comrade in camp and field. It was natural that these men should be friends. Both were brave, resolute, energetic soldiers, and their higher natures were of a kind which envy could not dim nor jealousy tarnish. Life with Havelock had been a long battle with poverty and with men, and the wages of his labour had often been denied him. By the appointment of Outram it seemed as if he was to be once more deprived of his legitimate reward; but he made no complaint, and he did not allow it to affect the energetic discharge of his duty. Outram, however, had relieved the bitterness by informing him that he would not deprive him of the honour and glory of the relief for which he had so vigorously striven, and the morning after his arrival the General Commanding the Division issued the following order. It has often been printed, but it cannot be too often read, for here we find our nationality, our poetry :—

"The important duty of relieving the garrison of Lucknow had been first entrusted to Major-General Havelock, C.B., and Major-General Outram feels

that it is due to this distinguished officer, and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honour of the achievement.

"Major-General Outram is confident that the great end for which General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished.

"The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity—as Chief Commissioner of Oudh—tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer."

Havelock responded graciously: "Brigadier-General Havelock, in making known to the column the kind and generous determination of Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., to leave to it the task of relieving Lucknow, and of rescuing its gallant and enduring garrison, has only to express his hope that the troops will strive, by their exemplary and gallant conduct in the field, to justify the confidence thus reposed in them."

To confirm Outram's temporary relinquishment of command is the formal purport of the following order, dated September 28th, but through it runs the fine spirit of Colin Campbell:—

"Seldom, perhaps never, has it occurred to a Commander-in-Chief to publish and confirm such an

order as the following one, proceeding from Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B.

"With such a reputation as Major-General Sir James Outram has won for himself, he can well afford to share glory and honour with others. But that does not lessen the value of the sacrifice he has made with such disinterested generosity in favour of Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., commanding the field force in Oudh.

"Concurring, as the Commander-in-Chief does, in everything stated in the just eulogy of the latter by Sir James Outram, his Excellency takes this opportunity of publicly testifying to the army his admiration for an act of self-sacrifice and generosity, on a point which, of all others, is dear to a real soldier.

"The confidence of Major-General Sir James Outram in Brigadier-General Havelock is indeed well justified. The energy, perseverance, and constancy of the Brigadier-General have never relaxed throughout a long series of arduous operations, in spite of scanty means, a numerous and trained enemy, and sickness in his camp. Never have troops shown greater or more enduring courage than those under the orders of Brigadier-General Havelock."¹

¹ It was an act of self-sacrifice and generosity "not only," to use the words of Sir Colin Campbell, "in a point which, of all others, is dear to a soldier," but also it involved other substantial sacrifices. Outram "was already a G.C.B., and any additional reward must necessarily assume the form of a permanent title with a pension attached. He therefore believed he was irretrievably surrendering the certainty of a baronetcy and its accompaniment. Further, it was understood that the treasure in the Residency, stated to be from 23 to 32 lakhs of

On the night of the 18th the floating bridge across the Ganges was laid, and the next day Havelock's force again crossed to the Oudh bank of the Ganges. On the 20th of September Eyre's heavy guns, which had been covering the crossing, and the rear-guard passed over. At daybreak the 21st September, in a deluge of rain, Havelock's column again began its advance for the relief of Lucknow. A short distance from Mungulwar they found the enemy posted on the plain commanding the line of route. His right rested on a village and walled enclosure, which afforded good cover owing to the luxuriant growth of standing corn that rose before it as a screen, while the drizzling rain enveloped it in haze. His centre and left were covered by a line of breastworks, behind which six guns were posted. They immediately opened on our guns as they came up the road drawn by elephants. Many of the detachment guarding them

Havelock's force again crosses the Ganges, 18th September.

Havelock's second advance towards Lucknow, 21st September. Battle of Mungulwar, 21st September.

rupees, would, in accordance with precedent, be adjudged prize-money. He elected to receive the insignificant share of a civilian volunteer, instead of the very substantial one of the General in actual command. Thus he deprived himself 'not only of all honours, but' [we quote an allusion to the subject in a private letter of his own] 'of the only means of support for the declining years of a life the chequered vicissitudes of which have afforded no opportunity of making any provision for the requirements of age.' If, in after years, the matter was mentioned in his hearing, he was wont, as his custom was when his own good deeds were spoken of, to turn it off by some self-deprecating remark, such as, 'People have made too much of it,' 'I had the chance of obtaining the highest object of my ambition, the Victoria Cross,' and so on. But it is only fair to the memory of an unselfish man now to make public what he only revealed in confidence. The surrender of the command was no mere chivalrous impulse, but a deliberate act of self-sacrifice."—"Life of James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, vol. ii. pp. 221, 222.

fell. One of the elephants had the lower part of its trunk carried away, and swinging round, rushed furiously through the battery.¹ His sagacious companions, realising their danger, refused to drag the guns any farther, and all attempts to goad them forward were in vain. Bullocks had to take their place. After much confusion and much delay, the guns, supported by the 5th Fusiliers,² were deployed on and across the road, and engaged the enemy in front. Havelock determined again to adopt Frederick's favourite movement. He sent his main force to the left, and the 90th Light Infantry in dashing style soon cleared the village and plantation. A well-timed advance in front, and the rebel line was in ruin. Barrow's horsemen, who had accompanied the turning column, furiously charged the retreating mass, and broke it again and again. Outram himself, on his huge Australian horse, was forward in the thick of the tumult,—no sword in his hand, but a stout gold-topped malacca known to our forefathers as "The Penang Lawyer," with which he whacked the fugitives. Outram and Barrow, with his squadron behind in loose order, pressed forward in a whirl. A turn in the road disclosed right ahead a dense body of rallied rebels. "Close up and take order!" shouted Barrow; and at the word they plunged forward and rode into the mass, sabring right and

¹ "Memoirs of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 282.

² "Lately arrived from the Mauritius, who displayed the most perfect training."—"Journal of an English Officer in India," by Major North, p. 166.

left, Outram's malacca in full play. Pursued and pursuers rolled pell-mell along the road to Busherungunge. Two guns behind an intrenchment barred the way. Barrow, his men following him, rushed at the earthwork and over it, cut down the gunners, and captured the guns. The rebels were pursued and sabred through the town till the great *serai* beyond was reached. A hundred and twenty killed, two guns, and the regimental colour of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry captured attested the vigour of the pursuit.

The troops bivouacked for the night at the *serai*. On the morning of the 22nd September, the weather still being rainy, the column again advanced. About 3 P.M. the Sye was reached, and great was the delight at discovering that the rebels in their precipitate flight had neglected to destroy the bridge over the wide stream. A mile in front of the bridge the force was halted along the road, and a royal salute was fired in the hope that its welcome sound would reach the beleaguered garrison. But the wind was in the wrong direction. Here the troops rested for the night—as much rest as hungry men could get in a swamp with rain pouring down on them.

At 8 A.M. on the 23rd of September Havelock's force continued its march towards Lucknow. The road lay through a wide sheet of water. For ten miles no rebel was seen. Then about 2 P.M. the cavalry discovered the enemy three miles in front, his centre and right posted on some mounds, and his left resting on the Alum Bagh, a garden-house built by one of the princes of Oudh for his favourite wife. Like

The troops
reach
Bunnee,
22nd Sep-
tember.

Battle
of the
Alum
Bagh,
23rd Sep-
tember.

all the garden-homes erected by the Moslem nobles, it was admirably adapted for defence, as a strong lofty wall with turrets at each angle enclosed a garden about five hundred yards square, rich in flower and shrub, with a fine house carved with the numerous quaint devices of oriental taste in the centre, a mosque adjoining, and numerous offices for followers.

The enemy, whose line extended nearly two miles, had ten thousand trained troops and a great superiority in cavalry and artillery. No sooner had the head of our column come within range than two of their guns fired straight down the road. The first shot knocked over three officers of the 90th. The ground was favourable to the enemy : he was on a slightly elevated dry plateau, while the British troops were crowded on a road through a marsh, and owing to the depth of the water it was impossible to leave it. A short delay occurred owing to the 1st Brigade having to be halted in order to let the 2nd Brigade pass it, and "the shot of the enemy's guns told a good deal in our ranks." The movement having been executed, the column again went forward, case-shot raining all the time, till a bit of dry ground was discovered on the left of the road. To reach it a deep ditch full of water had to be crossed, and as Neill's horse plunged down he nearly fell.¹ "Whilst he did so," writes Neill, "a round-shot grazed the horse's quarters, passing a few inches behind me." On reaching the dry spot the brigades were deployed in front of the enemy,

¹ "Lives of Indian Officers," by John William Kaye, vol. ii. p. 401.

Neill's forming the centre and left, whilst Hamilton's was extended farther to the left so as to overlap the enemy's line. Olpherts' battery, and the Volunteer cavalry sent to cover the movement of the latter brigade, dashed up the road at full speed. Into the deep ditch they plunged down without a check ; horses and drivers splashed and struggled in the water ; yet the guns were landed on the other side. "Forward at a gallop !" shouted Olpherts. Neill waved his helmet, and a loud cheer was raised as the cannon swept by the first brigade. Eyre's heavy battery having come up, soon silenced the enemy's guns and dispersed their cavalry. Then the 1st brigade advanced, and at the same time the 2nd, turning, attacked the rebels on the flank, and their rout was complete. One of their guns, however, continued to bowl "9-pounders at us for the last half-hour down the road." "So at it I went," wrote Lieutenant Johnson, "with five-and-twenty men. Greatly to my relief, they never fired a shot as we came on ; and we took the gun without much difficulty. We chopped up a few of the men, and the rest ran away. . . . I lost one man killed and a few men and horses wounded : my own mare got a shot through the back."¹ Thus tersely a British subaltern describes one of the finest acts of gallantry performed in a campaign famous for its brave deeds.² The enemy still held the Alum Bagh,

¹ "Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life." From the Letters of Major W. T. Johnson of the Native Irregular Cavalry, p. 172.

² Marshman thus describes Johnson's gallant action : "They stood the shock of this heavy ordnance—so rarely seen in the field—only for a few moments, and then broke up in confusion. Our troops and guns

and two guns withdrawn from the field kept up a brisk fire from the embrasures in the wall. As every shot was telling, a wing of the 5th Fusiliers, which was on the right of the line, was ordered to clear the enclosure, and they stormed it in the most gallant way. On entering they, however, found that Captain Barton of the 78th, one of the flanking brigade, had almost simultaneously with his company found his way through the main gate. In about ten minutes every sepoy was thrust out of the Alum Bagh ; Barrow and Outram, accompanied by their few horsemen and Olpherts' guns, pursued vigorously, and chased the routed rebels almost to the Yellow House, close to the Char Bagh Bridge. Here they found the enemy strongly entrenched, and fed with fresh troops from the city ; and as night had set in, Outram determined to withdraw the squadron. As he rode back a messenger brought him a despatch. When the pickets had been posted and the troops, preparing to bivouac for the night, were drawn up in line, Outram told them the glad

followed them as closely as the nature of the ground would permit. But one of their guns, planted on the road, and admirably served by the well-trained artillerymen of the Oudh force, still continued to send destruction among our troops, when Lieutenant Johnson, by an act of gallantry not surpassed in any action during this campaign, without waiting for orders, charged it with twenty troopers of his Irregular Cavalry, sabred the gunners, and silenced the gun. Finding himself unsupported a thousand yards in advance of the force, and the enemy keeping up a galling fire from neighbouring cover, he was compelled to abandon it and retire ; but the dread inspired by this dashing charge deterred the enemy from serving it again, and the troops were free from its molestation during their further advance." — "Life of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, pp. 403, 404.

tidings—Delhi had been taken. And there was a peal of sound from the hearts and throats of the soldiers. That night, as they lay in the wet fields, there came through the volleying rain the boom of the heavy guns at Lucknow, and they longed for the glorious day to follow.

News of
the fall of
Delhi.

The morn broke fine after the stormy night, and sore was the disappointment of the men to find that no advance was to be made till to-morrow. The troops had been marching for three days under a perfect deluge of rain, irregularly fed, and badly housed in mud huts, and it was thought necessary to pitch the tents in order that they should have an opportunity of drying their garments and enjoying a day's rest. The tents were pitched and the baggage massed in the rear. The men, unsuspecting of danger, had strolled away, when the enemy, creeping round under cover of the trees and tall crops, suddenly dashed forth, shouting vociferously. "This so terrified the drivers and other camp-followers that they hastily fled, abandoning the baggage. So simultaneous was their flight, and so rapid, that it resembled the sound of a rushing storm sweeping over the plain, which was scattered with numerous unclad dusky forms, like figures of animated bronze."¹ The soldiers of the 90th forming the baggage guard received the rebels with great gallantry, but lost some brave officers and men,—shooting down, however, 25 of the troopers, and putting the whole body to flight. They were finally driven to a distance by two guns of Captain

Halt at
the Alum
Bagh,
24th Sep-
tember.

¹ "Journal of an English Officer in India," by Major North, p. 179.

Olperts' battery. But over six heavy guns were unable to silence two of the enemy's 9-pounders concealed in a thick wood near the Char Bridge. " Fired with double charges, at a great elevation, the balls ricochetted through the camp, causing many casualties."¹

Four routes to the Residency.

The day was passed by Havelock and Outram in maturing plans for the morrow. They had a choice of four routes by which to advance upon the Residency. The first, by the Cawnpore road to the Char Bagh Bridge, and thence direct through the heart of the city for a mile and a half to the Bailey Guard Gate. But the road was known to have been cut by trenches and crossed by palisades at short intervals, the houses also being all loopholed. " Progress in this direction," as Havelock stated, " was impossible."

The second route was to force the Char Bagh Bridge, and then to turn to the right and advance by a circuitous lane along the left bank of the canal till open ground was reached, then turn to the left and advance to the Residency by the plain between the Kaiser Bagh and the river.

The third route was to avoid the direct road altogether, proceed at once from the Alum Bagh to the right, and continue advancing outside the canal till the Dilkoosha (Joy of the Heart) Palace was reached, then turn to the left, and crossing the canal by the bridge, strike the plain between the Kaiser Bagh and the river.

¹ "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, p. 406.

The fourth route was to proceed as in route three to the Dilkoosha Palace and Park, seize it, and under cover of that strong position bridge the Goomtee. Then, after crossing the river, gain the Fyzabad and Lucknow road at the Kokrail bridge, and proceeding down it, seize the iron bridge and the Badshah Bagh, an enclosed palace and garden which offered an admirable defensive position.¹

The fourth route, along the northern bank of the Goomtee, was the one which best commended itself to Havelock. "I had brought up canal boats from Cawnpore," he wrote, "intending to bridge the Goomtee, and coming round by its left bank to the north-west of the city, to have seized the iron and stone bridges, thus placing myself on the enemy's communications. I should have hoped from this plan great results. But it was doomed never to be tried."² It was not tried, because after a reconnaissance made on the 24th September Colonel Napier reported that the incessant rain had rendered the country impracticable for artillery. And Havelock was desirous of taking not only the light field-pieces but the heavy guns with him.³ It was therefore resolved to advance by the second route:

¹ "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, V.C., pp. 218, 219.

² "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, p. 407.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

⁴ Sir Henry Havelock-Allan wrote: "My father was always of opinion that No. 4, viz., the trans-Goomtee route, was the one that ought to be followed, but he desired to take the heavy guns with us."—"History of the Indian Mutiny," by T. Rice Holmes, Appendix K.

Mr Marshman states: "It was reported that it would be impossible to move even the light field-pieces across the country."

Determination to advance by second route.

that meant to force the Char Bagh Bridge, turn to the right, half circle round the city, and establish themselves in the Fureed Buksh, a palace adjacent to the Residency. It was arranged that the sick and wounded, with the hospital, the baggage, and the food and ammunition reserves, were to be left at the Alum Bagh under the charge of Colonel M'Intyre of the 78th Highlanders, with six officers, forty-two non-commissioned officers, and two hundred and fifty men. The soldiers were directed to take sixty rounds of ammunition in their pouches: an equal reserve per man was to be carried on camels. Havelock also succeeded in overcoming Outram's objections to take Eyre's 24-pounders.¹ The parole of the day was "Patience."

¹ "He [Havelock] always held a strong opinion on the question of heavy artillery, based on the manifest difficulties which the want of it had entailed on Napoleon at Acre; on Wellington at Burgos; and on Lake at Bhurtpore. This view was fortified by his own observation of the all but fatal result of having left the heavy guns at Candahar when the army marched to Ghuznee. He had, therefore, formed the fixed determination never to leave them behind him when there might possibly be occasion for their use."—"Life of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B," by John Clark Marshman, p. 421.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE morning broke dull and gloomy. The rain had ceased, but the sky was covered with low-hanging clouds, and the country had been transformed into a veritable sea of mud. At 8 A.M. the column of attack was formed in front of the Alum Bagh. "Toil, privation, and exposure had left traces on the forms of our men, and yet daring, hope, and energy seemed depicted on their countenances." Soon after, Outram, accompanied by his staff, galloped up, and informed Havelock that he thought it desirable to modify the plan resolved on the previous day. A map of the city was spread out on a table, and as the two Generals were intently studying it a round-shot hit the earth within a few yards of them and bounded over their heads. Then a loud thud was heard distinctly : a round-shot had struck one of the gun bullocks fairly on the left ribs. "A large dark lump swelled out on the poor beast's white flank, and in two or three seconds it quietly sank down and died." Another beast took its place. To the soldiers, eager to go straight against the rebels and fight by the Residency, the conference between the two Generals seemed interminable. At length the welcome word "Forward!" was given. Neill's brigade, headed by two companies of the 5th Fusiliers in column of advance of the column.

sections and Maude's battery, led the way. Outram rode by Maude's side with the leading gun, followed by two of his staff, Chamier and Sitwell. No sooner had the brigade passed our advanced picquets than a murderous fire was poured on it from a double-storeyed house full of musketeers and from the loopholed walls of the large surrounding gardens, from a battery on each flank, and from two guns "which were loaded in the lane behind the Yellow House and then run out on the main road, carefully laid, and admirably served." At this moment there came the order to halt. The Fusiliers lay in the ditch on each side of the road to escape the storm, and Maude's guns were deployed and engaged the enemy. Round-shot, grape, and bullets went crashing through the trees which lined the road, and struck many down. Shot followed shot, and bullet after bullet was poured into the advancing column. Outram's arm was shot through by a musket-ball; "but he only smiled, and asked one of us to tie his handkerchief tightly above the wound."¹ Then his aide-de-camp, Sitwell, received a similar wound. Almost at the same moment the sergeant-major of Maude's battery had the whole of his stomach carried away by a round-shot. "He looked up to me for a moment with a piteous expression, but had only strength to utter two words, 'Oh God!' when he sank on the road." Just then another round-shot took off the leg high up the thigh of the next senior sergeant, John Kiernan, a splendid

¹ "Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 291.

specimen of the Irish soldier. "He was as true as steel." Fast as the men of the leading gun detachments fell, their places were taken by volunteers from other guns. But soon there would be no men to fill the gaps. In this desperate situation Maude asked Outram, "calm, cool, and grave," if they might again advance. But the order to halt had come from Havelock, and Outram did not care to alter it. Happily at this moment Major Battine, of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, Havelock's galloper, once more made his appearance and gave the welcome order to advance.¹ "Steadily and cheerily Captain Maude pushed on with his brave men,"² and the infantry drove the enemy from the surrounding gardens and the Yellow House.³ On went the column till it was checked half a mile beyond the Yellow House by a sharp bend in the road. Two hundred yards in front flowed the canal. Straight before them was the Char Bagh Bridge. A battery of six guns, including a 24-pounder with a breastwork

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Battine, who acted as galloper to Havelock, tells me that it was he who brought it, as well as the original order to us to halt, and explains that the first was necessary because the rear of the column was not ready when we moved off. Considering that it was close upon 9 o'clock, and that we had been about three hours under arms, the delay seems a little difficult to understand."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 292.

² "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, p. 412.

³ And then the walled enclosures on either side of the road from which the enemy's infantry had been firing were cleared by our infantry, those on the right by the 5th Fusiliers and part of the 84th, and those on the left and a village that we had now reached by the remainder of the 84th and 84th, but with considerable loss.—"Lives of Indian Officers," by J. W. Kaye, vol. ii. p. 405.

in front, defended it on the Lucknow side. To the right and left of it were lofty houses, loopholed and held by musketeers. Lieutenant Arnold with the skirmishers of the Madras Fusiliers was sent forward to hold the canal-bank on the left of the road and check the fire that streamed from the houses. Outram with the 5th Fusiliers went to the right to clear the walled garden from which the bridge derives its name, and to proceed till he gained the high banks of the canal, whence he could bring a flanking fire to bear on the bridge. Two of Maude's guns (there was no room for more) unlimbered at the bend of the road and replied to the rebel artillery. "The first discharge from one of the enemy's guns disabled one of Maude's guns, the greater portion of the detachment serving it being killed or wounded." Volunteers were called for from the infantry, and private Jack Holmes of the 84th was the first man to respond, and his example was followed by others.¹ The formidable fire of the enemy increased every moment, and their musketry and artillery mowed down the men as fast as they took their places at the guns. For half an hour the unequal contest was maintained. The skirmishers were unable to keep down the enemy's musketry. No sign of Outram. "In this crisis, Lieutenant - Colonel Fraser - Tytler, Deputy

Private
Jack
Holmes.

¹ "Among whom were Lieutenants Pearson and Aitken."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 293.

"The gallantry displayed by Private Holmes throughout the day caused me to recommend him for the Victoria Cross."—General Fred. A. Willis, C.B., "Times," March 23rd, 1890.

Assistant-Quartermaster-General to the Force, rode up and immediately proceeded to reconnoitre the position under a most heavy fire. Forming the opinion that the bridge might be carried by a bayonet charge, while, as the enemy's fire was evidently superior, and further delay would not only be useless but would also disperse the troops, he represented his views to Brigadier-General Neill, and prevailed on that officer to allow the attempt to be made. On receiving permission, he carried the order to advance to the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and assisted in collecting the men, who had been dispersed under cover of some huts for shelter."¹ At the welcome signal to advance, Arnold, before the Fusiliers had time to collect, dashed on to the bridge with his skirmishers and a few men of the 84th. Havelock and Tytler spurred their horses, and in a moment were by his side. Torrents of

Lieut.-Colonel Fraser-Tytler reconnoitres the position.

¹ "Fraser-Tytler at Char Bagh (written by Havelock-Allan)," 16th August 1859.—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 562. No mention is made in this paper of the *ruse* which Havelock-Allan says he practised on Neill to force the latter to give the order to advance. In a paper written two years after the event Havelock-Allan distinctly stated that it was Colonel Fraser-Tytler who prevailed on Neill to allow the attempt to be made to carry the bridge by the bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonel Maude, in a letter dated 20th October 1859, wrote to Colonel Fraser-Tytler: "On the 25th September 1857, on our entry into Lucknow, your conduct, from first to last, was the theme of universal praise. In the early part of the day I remember you exposing yourself to a tremendous fire while reconnoitring the enemy's battery; and I believe it was in consequence of your representations that General Neill ordered the celebrated charge of the Madras Fusiliers, in which you joined, and which indeed relieved me from a most unequal contest. I believe you had a horse killed under you during the charge."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., vol. ii. pp. 563, 564.

grape-shot and musket-shot bursting out, swept them away. Arnold fell hit through both thighs; Tytler came down with his horse killed under him. Havelock and Corporal Jacques alone remained. "They were the target for many muskets." "We'll soon have the beggars out of that, sir," said the Corporal, as he stood by Havelock's side, loading and firing as fast as he could. Havelock waved his sword and called on the rest to advance. Before the rebels had time to reload, they leapt forward with a terrible shout, dashed across the bridge, cleared the breastwork, stormed the battery, and bayoneted the gunners. The Char Bagh Bridge was won.

The Char
Bagh
Bridge
carried.

At that moment Outram emerged from the Char Bagh garden on the margin of the canal in time to see the capture of the guns.¹ The loopholed build-

¹ Mr Marshman, in his "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," writes that Sir James Outram was just in time "to witness the charge of the Fusiliers." And to the Fusiliers has hitherto been given the whole credit. General Frederick A. Willis, C.B., in a letter to the "Times," dated 23rd March 1890, however, states: "That General Outram, when he came up, complimented the 84th and Madras Fusiliers for the dash and gallantry they had displayed in the capture of these guns." General Frederick Willis, when he was Captain Frederick Willis and at the time commanding the 84th Regiment, in a letter dated Lucknow, 21st November 1857, wrote as follows: "Maude worked his guns very bravely and steadily. I was in a front house when a gallant young Lance-Corporal came running up and said 'Oh, sir ! the Madras Fusiliers' (who had not as yet been in the front) 'are ordered up to take the battery. We can't let them go in front of the 84th.' 'Certainly not,' I said ; 'if you will collect eight or ten men, I will go over the bridge with you.' We got some men, and as the Fusiliers came up we all charged together. (This is not known, and it was thought the Madras Fusiliers were the only people first up. General Neill, though, knew some of the 84th were there, for he saw us start ; but, alas ! for me and the regiment, he was killed late in the evening, otherwise we should have been particularly mentioned, for we fought all the day under his eyes.) As we rushed into the road we received

ings near the bridge were stormed and held, and the road made clear for the rest of the column.

On Tytler regaining his feet he became aware that two of the enemy's guns behind the Yellow House were opening upon the bridge from our right rear. He promptly made his way through the brigade to General Havelock, and reported to him on the advisability of their being immediately captured by infantry, "as from their situation no artillery could be brought to bear upon them; and their fire was telling with fearful effect on the rear of our column and train of baggage, crowded in a narrow road between walls."¹ The General directed him to order the nearest available regiment to take the guns. The 90th were at hand, and he guided them to the spot. The rebels were strongly posted, but headed by their gallant commander, Campbell,² with Tytler holding on by the mane of

Capture of
guns by
the 90th
Light
Infantry.

a shower of grape, which took five men on my right, and cut their legs right from under them. I was struck above the left knee and came down, but picked myself up, and finding no bones broken, rushed on for my bare life, and we were all cheering like madmen, and that one round was the last the enemy fired from those guns: the battery was ours, and the Lance-Corporal shot down a gunner just as he was going to fire another gun. I have recommended him for distinguished conduct, and he has also got the Cross: he continually deserved it, for I never met a more untiring skirmisher, always in front, and always gallant."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and J. W. Sherer, C.S.I.

¹ Letter from Sir Henry Havelock-Allan, Great Malvern, Worcestershire, 14th August 1859.—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 562.

² "Colonel Campbell, commanding the 90th Light Infantry, had won his C.B. in the Crimea, and was a very intelligent and capable as well as a brave officer. He was wounded, later in the day, by a ball below his knee, from which he afterwards died in the Residency."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 299.

Captain
Olpherts
carries off
the guns.

his horse, the 90th made a rush and took the two guns in the face of a heavy fire of grape. Olpherts, who with conspicuous gallantry had assisted in their capture, carried them off in triumph attached to his spare limbers through a most galling cross-fire of musketry from the loopholes of neighbouring houses and walled gardens.¹ For this act of gallantry Olpherts received the Victoria Cross.² "Bravery

¹ Extract from despatch by Brigadier Eyre, commanding artillery at Lucknow between September 1857 and March 1858.

² Field Force Orders by Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., Commanding, 9th (14th !) October 1857 :—

Brigadier-General Havelock, in virtue of the power delegated to him in General Orders, whilst he commanded the Allahabad Moveable Column and Oudh Field Force as separate bodies, has been pleased to award the Victoria Cross to the following officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates—

1. Captain William Olpherts, Bengal Artillery, for highly distinguished conduct on the 25th of September 1857, when the troops penetrated into the city of Lucknow, in having charged a battery of the enemy's guns, at the head of a party of the 90th Light Infantry, in face of a heavy fire of grape, and afterwards returning, under a severe cross fire of musketry, to bring limbers and horses to carry off the captured ordnance, which he accomplished.

Field Force Orders by Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., 17th October 1857 :—

1. In consequence of subsequent information laid before Brigadier-General Havelock, he is pleased to modify, as follows, paragraph 1 of Field Force Orders of the 9th instant (*sic*). Order books will be carefully corrected accordingly.

Paragraph 1 of Field Force Orders, dated 9th October 1857.—Captain William Olpherts, Bengal Artillery, for highly distinguished conduct on the 25th September 1857, when the troops penetrated into the city of Lucknow, in having charged, on horseback, with her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry, when gallantly headed by Colonel Campbell, it captured two guns, in the face of a heavy fire of grape; and having afterwards returned, under a severe cross fire of musketry, to bring up limbers and horses to carry off the captured ordnance, which they accomplished. — "Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., p. 559.

is a poor and insufficient epithet to apply to a valour such as yours," wrote Outram.

The 78th Highlanders were told to hold the bridge and occupy the adjacent houses until all the troops and baggage had passed, and then to follow, protecting the rear. The main column, with Outram and Havelock at their head, turned sharply to the right and advanced along the narrow lane skirting the canal. Ankle-deep in slush, they slowly proceeded, and great was the difficulty in dragging the heavy guns over the soft ground. The wheels often sank deep in the ruts, and Olpherts kept alive the spirits of the men as they did the tedious work of extricating them by telling them, "The sound of your guns is music to the ladies in Lucknow."¹ The column followed the sandy lanes by the canal until it debouched on the Dilkoosha road near the 32nd hospital. Leaving the 32nd barracks on the left, they followed the road across the open country to the Secundra Bagh, and thence, still clinging to the road, which there makes a sharp angle to the left, they entered a walled passage in front of the pile of buildings, surrounded by a lofty wall, known by the name of Moti Mahal.² The enemy had

Route of
the main
column
with Out-
ram and
Havelock.

¹ "We had stopped once or twice on our way round the outskirts to let the heavy guns close up, and at one of these halts the General (Neill) was repeatedly cheered by his men and the artillerymen, which made him very happy, and he laughed so when Captain Olpherts (who is a splendid officer) called out to his men, 'The sound of your guns is music to the ladies in Lucknow.'"—"Lives of Indian Officers," by John William Kaye, vol. ii. p. 406.

² "The Moti Mahal," or Pearl Palace, includes three buildings. The one which, on account of the pearl shape of its dome, gave the name to the whole pile stands on the north of the enclosure. It was built by Saadut Ali Khan, who was the first Vizier who received in

evidently been taken by surprise by the route adopted, because from the Char Bagh no serious opposition was made till the Moti Mahal was reached. Then the enemy plied them with grape-shot from four guns posted in front of Cæsar's Garden (Kaisar Bagh), the palace of the King of Oudh,¹ and musketry from the Khoorsheyd Munzil, the Palace of the Sun, a strongly built house distant a few hundred yards due north.² Two of the heavy guns under Major Eyre opened on the Kaisar Bagh battery and silenced it. The force halted, and intelligence arrived that the 78th, with the rear-guard, were strongly pressed. A party was sent back to meet and guide them, but the day wore away and no evidence of their presence could be found. Then, about three, the Highlanders were seen moving along the road in front of the palaces on the left flank, and an order went forth that the forces, without the wounded, baggage, and heavy guns, were to start again. Leaving the Moti Mahal, they went, concealed from the view of the enemy, along a narrow lane, and then through the grounds of Mr Money's house till they struck one of the main roads. As they emerged they were greeted by a lively artillery and musketry salute. A large massive gate near the King's stable marred their advance. For a time it resisted the efforts of Captain Olpherts, who was foremost with the men

1819 the title of King of Oudh from the British Government. The narrow passage is now a road, and the wall has dropped.

¹ "Kaiser Bagh," a stucco palace built by the last King of Oudh. It was commenced in 1848 and completed in 1850.

² It was the mess-house of the 32nd.

of his battery, to blow it open. "At length it yielded to his endeavours, and the insurgents who had been concealed within it were despatched." The column pushed on under the rush of shells, shrapnel, and bullets. Officers, men, and horses fell faster and faster; but they bore onwards till a narrow passage leading to the Chuttur Munzil¹ brought them out of the jaws of death. Here they halted, sheltered by the brick walls which lined the lane, and waited for the 78th to join them.

As long as the main column were in sight the 78th had been unmolested at the Char Bagh Bridge, and they employed themselves in throwing into the canal the guns which they had captured. They were so occupied when the rebels suddenly came down the Cawnpore Road in force and attacked them. For three hours they were engaged in a destructive contest, for the enemy were posted in a little temple, from which they poured a heavy musketry fire. Then the Highlanders could no longer stand on the defensive, and they went forth with an irresistible rush and carried the shrine by storm. But the rebels, not to be beaten, brought up their field-pieces and continued to fight for another hour. While this combat was in progress, all the rear, with the companies of the 90th that formed its guard, had crossed the bridge and marched on.

The Highlanders had right well done the duty assigned to them. But, still eager for the fray,

The 78th
at the
Char
Bagh
Bridge.

¹ Chuttur Munzil, or Umbrella house, so called from the gilt umbrellas (*chutturs*) or domes which crown the summit. It was built by Nasir ud deen [1827] for a seraglio, and it was surrounded by a strong high brick wall intended to secure the seclusion of the inmates.

they again became the assailants, and dashing forward they captured the guns, and running them to the canal hurled them also into the water. Then they set forth to join the column. But the last hour of fighting had caused them to lose the touch of the main body, and when they emerged from the narrow lane by the canal all trace was lost. Here they found two roads. Instead of taking the one to the Secundra Bagh as the main body had done, they turned sharp to the left and entered the narrow street called Huzerutgunge. All at once the tall houses seemed aflame, and a hail of bullets fell on them. Ensign Kerbey, carrying the Queen's colours, was shot down. As he fell the colour was grasped by a bandsman named Glen, from whom it was taken by Sergeant Reid. A few paces farther, and Sergeant Reid was struck. Assistant-Surgeon Valentine M'Master seized the colours, and rushing forward, joined his comrades as they pressed on returning the fire.¹ Above the ring of the musket and the rifle could be heard the roar of guns to the front and right. Louder grew the booming as the Highlanders advanced up the street. Then suddenly they burst into a wide open space, and through the smoke they saw on their flank an entrenched battery in front of the great gateway of the Kaisar Bagh. It was hard at work firing on the main column as they emerged from the narrow track between the Moti Mahal and the mess - house. Forward the Highlanders swept and stormed the battery. After spiking the largest gun they pressed on to the right

¹ "Havelock," by Archibald Forbes, p. 195.

till they joined Outram and Havelock opposite the engine-house, near where Bruce's bridge now stands.

The sun had set and the dark hour of night was coming swiftly upon them. Five hundred yards in front was the Bailey Guard, the goal of long toil and grievous labour, and Havelock and his men were anxious to win it at once.¹ Outram, more than fearless in battle, being familiar with the ground, foresaw the awful sacrifice of life the forcing of the narrow street would entail. He therefore suggested a halt of a few hours' duration in order to enable the rear-guard, with which were all the heavy guns, baggage, and wounded, to come up. By that time, he reasoned, the Chuttur Munzil would be in their possession, and from that post the light artillery would have kept down the fire from the Kaisar Bagh, and the force could have worked their way to the Residency by opening communication through the intervening palaces, "in a less brilliant manner, it is true, but with comparatively little loss."² At the same time he offered to show the

¹ "The opportunity to rest, though at first acceptable to the wearied soldiers, soon became irksome, so great was their eagerness to reach our desired goal, the Baillie Guard. This was evident from the numerous murmurs amongst the mass of men now exposed to the enemy's fire in several directions."—"Journal of an English Officer in India," by Major North, p. 198.

² Havelock in his official report states: "Darkness was coming on, and Sir James Outram at first proposed to halt within the courts of the Mehal for the night."—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 222. By Mehal Havelock no doubt meant the Chuttur Munzil. In a private letter written a few days after the relief Havelock writes: "Night was coming on, and Sir James was desirous of halting and passing the dark hours in the palace of *Fuerred Buka*. But I so urgently represented the importance of achieving at once a communication with the be-

way through the street, if Havelock preferred it. Havelock preferred it, and with the "ultimate sanction" of Outram he ordered the main body of the 78th Highlanders and Sikhs to advance, for they had, owing to having entered the passage last, become the head of the column. The lane led into a courtyard surrounded by flat-roofed houses, with a lofty archway at the centre of the far end. As the troops entered the courtyard a heavy musketry-fire was opened from the tops of the houses, and through loopholes in the parapet that ran along the top of the archway. "This fire knocked down numbers of our poor soldiers; and the fire that we gave in return was useless, as the sepoys were protected by the parapet that ran along the whole front of the flat-roofed houses; and the houses themselves had all the doorways on the other side, so could not be entered from where we were."¹ General Neill sat his horse near the archway giving orders with consummate coolness, meant to prevent too hasty a rush through the archway. One of the guns had

leaguered garrison and restoring their confidence, that I prevailed."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, p. 426. The *Furreed Buksh* was in immediate juxtaposition to the Chuttur Munzil. When Havelock's despatch was published, Outram wrote a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, in which he stated: "I proposed a halt of only a few hours' duration, in order to enable the rear-guard, with which were all our heavy guns, the baggage, and the doolies containing our wounded, to come up, by which time the whole force would have occupied the Chuttur Munzil in security, which we were then holding, and from which we could have effected our way to the Residency by opening communication through the intervening palaces,—in a less brilliant manner, it is true, but with comparatively little loss; at the same time offering to show the way through the street, if he preferred it."—"State Papers," vol. ii., Appendix C.

¹ "Lives of Indian Officers," by John William Kaye, vol. i. p. 408.

INTERIOR VIEW OF THE BAILEY GUARD GATE.
SHOWING THE CLOCK TOWER AND THE KHAS BAAAR, THE STREET UP WHICH
HAVELock's FORCE MARCHED.)



not been got out of the lane. He sent an officer back to see what was the reason of the delay. As he turned his head to watch for its appearance a mutineer took a steady aim at him through a loop-hole in the archway, fired, and the bullet struck Neill on the head behind and a little above the left ear. Then, like an ash that on the crest of a far-seen hill is smitten with the axe of bronze, even so he fell, and his body was brought to the ground as his frightened horse galloped towards the lane.

Death of
General
Neill.

On going through the archway Olpherts posted his gun, and the Highlanders and Sikhs, led by Outram and Havelock, pushed forward towards the Residency. The guns of the enemy at the Kaisar Bagh smote them from the rear. Olpherts boldly answered, but his one gun could not keep down their fire.¹ Many officers and men went down. On reaching the Khas Bazar the head of the column was met in front by a crushing fire. Then the Highlanders drove forward through the narrow street, heedless of the bullets poured upon them from every window and the missiles hurled on them from the flat roofs of the houses. They rushed in all their eagerness beyond the turning that led to the Residency. Outram quickly halted the leading companies and ordered them to fall back. Then placing himself at the head of the centre companies, he guided them, followed by the rear companies and Brasyer's Sikhs, down the right

¹ Extract from a letter addressed by Sir James Outram to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated Alumbagh, 2nd January 1858.—“State Papers,” vol. iii., Appendix C.

path, and they pressed straight onwards, slaying and being slain as they went, till they reached the Bailey Guard and the goal was won.

While the Highlanders and Sikhs were running the fiery gauntlet, the remainder of the column, with the guns whose advance had been stopped by deep trenches cut across the street, were being guided by Lieutenant Moorsom¹ by a comparatively sheltered street parallel to Outram's route. After crossing the Paeen Bagh or Lower Garden, they went past the palaces till they reached the enemy's battery near the Clock Tower. The rebels taken in reverse slung the guns round. "At that moment, from the right-hand corner, I saw the unmistakable light of a port-fire and the semicircle it described as it was lowered to the vent of a gun: so I was not surprised when a shower of case-shot came whistling in our faces, and I tried my best to get together a dozen men to charge the gun before they could reload it. But the man who fired it, and I believe he was alone, disappeared in the darkness."

¹ Lieutenant William Moorsom had conducted 'a scientific survey of the city in 1856, and had executed an admirable map of a large portion of the city immediately surrounding the Residency, including the palaces of Furfut Buksh, &c., and part of the suburbs in that direction. It is from the survey made by him that all the plans had been derived which were of such essential service throughout the siege and subsequent military operations. . . . Happening to be in Calcutta at the time when General Havelock was forming his staff, Lieutenant Moorsom was placed upon it; and having most fortunately preserved rough copies of his survey, he was able greatly to assist the General's operations by means of them, as well as by his own personal knowledge of the city. It was thus that he was able to guide in through the palaces the second column of Havelock's army, and afterwards to lead the way when further operations in the palaces were necessary."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, p. 305.



EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE BAILEY GUARD GATE.

Through the abandoned Clock Tower the column marched straight to the Bailey Guard gate. Faint with heat and excessive toil, and many staggering under wounds, the soldiers threw themselves on the ground to rest while a portion of the barricade was being removed—"the moon rising calm and bright above us, and looking down coldly on our entry when at length all obstacles were removed."

As the column was advancing, Lieutenant Aitken of the 13th Native Infantry heard at the Bailey Guard the shouts of our men, and sallied forth with a party of his sepoyas to meet them. At the battery they met. The soldiers, in the excitement of the moment, unfortunately mistook the sepoyas for rebels, and bayoneted three of them. "It is all for the cause," said a heroic sepoy to his comrades, as his life-blood flowed away. Lieutenant Aitken, proceeding on with his men, occupied the face buildings and the enclosures of the Tehree Kothee. Here and in the short street from the Paeen Bagh many of the force and some of the guns remained till morning. During the night Lieutenant Johnson, accompanied by his friend Dr Greenhow and half of his troop of Irregular Cavalry, went out in search of the wounded. They found a number, who were brought in on the horses led by Johnson's troopers, and were saved by this act of daring gallantry and devotion from the fate which befell many of their comrades.

The majority of the wounded, the heavy guns, and a large number of ammunition-waggons were

Lieut.
Aitken
sallies
forth with
a party of
sepoyas.

Lieut.
Johnson
and Dr
Greenhow
go out
in search
of the
wounded.

with Colonel Campbell and his small party of the 90th, not exceeding 100 men, who had been left in the walled passage in front of the Moti Mahal Palace. On the evening of the 25th he sent word that he was invested by the enemy and could not advance without reinforcements. The following morning a detachment of 250 men under command of Major Simmons, 5th Fusiliers, and part of the Sikhs under Captain Brasyer, were sent to reinforce him. They occupied Martin's house and garden,¹ between Colonel Campbell's position and the Palace ; but as they were unable to move from that position, Colonel Napier received orders to proceed to their assistance with 100 men of her Majesty's 78th under Colonel Stisted and two guns of Captain Olpherts' battery and Captain Hardinge's sowars. "Captain Olpherts," Napier writes, "strongly objected to his guns being taken, and on considering the reason that he offered I took it upon myself to dispense with them, merely taking spare bullocks." Olpherts accompanied the party as a volunteer. Guided by Kavanagh, a civilian well acquainted with the locality, Napier led the party by one of the side outlets of the Palaces along the river bank to Major Simmons' position under a smart fire of the enemy. A further reinforcement of some men of

¹ "As we gradually emerged from the cover of the palace of the Terad (Furhut) Bukah we had to cross a nullah up to the waist under a very heavy fire, some being killed and wounded before we entered a house just on the other side, and called by the name of *Martin's* house : two poor Sikhs had their legs just bowled off as we were entering the house."—"Havelock's Indian Campaign," "Calcutta Review," vol. xxxii. p. 39.

the 32nd under Captain Lowe, some Sikhs, and 50 of the 78th also reached them. "We had an uncommonly unpleasant day of it," wrote Captain Lowe. They had got jammed up in a road between two walls, and were exposed to fire whenever any one showed himself; and round-shot were being sent into the house our men were put into for the day. "What rendered it more mortifying was that the brutes fired at us out of our old mess-house and my quarters."¹ Owing to the strong musketry-fire, it was impossible to move the guns during the day. One of the 24-pounders which had been used against the enemy the previous day was left in a most exposed position. When it grew dark Private Duffy, acting under the directions of Olpherts, crept out unobserved by the enemy and succeeded in attaching two drag-ropes to the trail of the gun. They were fastened to the limbers, the bullocks were yoked, and the gun was fortunately drawn in. Whilst aiding in the operation, Captain Crump, a quick and daring soldier of great intellectual power, was killed. To Private Duffy was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Under cover of the night the hospital and reserve ammunition were quickly and safely transported along the river bank to the entrenchment by a path practicable for camels and doolies, but quite imprac-

Private
Duffy
awarded
the
Victoria
Cross.

¹ "All that afternoon and night the shot and musketry were flying about like hail, while from a 32-pounder on the other side of the river shot were coming in with frightful precision, generally striking the wooden rafters of the house and sending splinters of wood here and there, frightfully wounding our brave but for the time helpless men."—"Calcutta Review," vol. xxxii. pp. 39, 40.

ticable for guns.¹ At 3 A.M. the whole force proceeded undiscovered through the enemy's posts, until the leading division had reached the outskirts of the grounds of the Chuttur Munzil; the heavy guns and waggons were safely parked in a garden, which Napier had reconnoitred the previous day. But this had hardly been done when a body of sepoys were discovered in an adjacent garden, within the Chuttur Munzil enclosures, by some men of the 90th, 5th Fusiliers, and 32nd, "who gallantly charged in, led by Colonel Purnell, 90th, and Captain M'Cabe, 32nd, and almost annihilated them, securing the garden itself as the rear of our position." A continuous position along the rear was secured. In the morning 150 men of the 32nd under Captain Lowe had been sent to clear the Captain's Bazaar and adjoining posts occupied by the enemy. The party was in three divisions—the first, under Captain Bassano, on the right; the second, in reserve, under Captain Hughes, 57th Native Infantry, attached to the regiment; and the third under Lieutenant Lawrence. The first two advanced under cover of the thick bushes between our trenches and the road, while the third came out through Innes' post. The enemy, being taken quite by surprise, fled precipitately to the river, and were nearly all shot or drowned in endeavouring to swim across the stream. Lawrence

¹ "Captain Hardinge made several journeys to bring up fresh doolies until every sick and wounded man was removed. He also took away the camels laden with Enfield ammunition."—From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir James Outram G.C.B., Commanding the Forces, dated Lucknow, 16th October 1857.

then led his party towards the iron bridge, and, owing to the distinguished bravery of Corporal Samuel Cole and Private Michael Power, succeeded in capturing a 9-pounder gun just as a second round of grape was about to be fired at them.¹ Returning with the gun, Lawrence joined Lowe and then proceeded to the Captain's Bazaar, and while doing so captured an 18-pounder gun. Lowe then proceeded to the Tehree Kothee with part of his men, and finding it unoccupied, pushed on to the Furhut Buksh Palace, where he found Aitken's detachment. Therefore, when Napier's men established themselves in the enclosure of the Chuttur Munzil, the communication between that palace and the residency on the river face was virtually complete, and measures were immediately taken to open a road for the guns through the Chuttur Munzil.

Unhappily a single grave misadventure marred the complete success of the operations of the day. Mr Bensley Thornhill of the Civil Service had in the morning volunteered to go out and bring in his cousin, Lieutenant Havelock, and the rest of the wounded. As he was well acquainted with Lucknow, his offer was accepted. He proceeded safely along the river bank to the Moti Mahal. On his return he missed his way, and guided the bearers of the doolies containing the wounded, with the

Corporal
Samuel
Cole and
Private
Michael
Power.

The
massacre
at the
Dooly
Square.

¹ Captain Hughes later in the day "led a party again towards the Iron Bridge, and killing a great number of the enemy in the houses about, spiked two large mortars, which, however, he was unable to bring away. He was, I regret to say, dangerously wounded whilst forcing a door of a house. As the party retired they blew up a large magazine of the enemy's powder."—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 276.

escort, into the square where Neill fell.¹ The moment they entered a murderous fire of musketry was poured upon them from the houses. Through the archway they rushed into the street. They were met by a more murderous fire. From a lofty building opposite the rebels plied them with such volleys of musketry that soldiers and bearers were swiftly mowed down. "They then fired upon us within a few paces, so that their bullets would tear through several men." Staggered by this double fire in front and rear, the bearers threw down their loads and fled. The insurgents dashed forward then and speedily cut the wounded to pieces. One dooly, containing Lieutenant Havelock and a wounded soldier of the 78th, went on. Private Henry Ward insisted on it. He remained by its side, and vowed he would shoot the first man who abandoned the litter. The brave deed did not go unrewarded, and the Victoria Cross was bestowed on Private Henry Ward.

No sooner did Thornhill discover his grave error than he rushed back through the archway to try and turn the rear doolies. A ball broke in pieces his arm, another grazed his temple. The doolies which happily had not entered the courtyard turned back and reached the Residency. But about thirty or forty were left in the street and in the square. A body of nine sound men, two wounded officers, and three wounded soldiers, rushing in the tumult through an open door, found themselves in a small house, and were swiftly cut off by the enemy, who

Private
Henry
Ward.

¹ It is now called "Dooly Square."

kept a brisk fire on the doorway. It was returned by Private M'Manus of the 5th Fusiliers. The steps outside the doorway being partially sheltered by a pillar, he for half an hour briskly returned their fire. "He killed numbers of them; and the fear of his intrepidity was so great, that he had at last often only to raise his piece to cause all the enemy to stoop and leap their loopholes." Their number grew greater and greater, and closer and closer they advanced, pouring forth torrents of abuse and taunts. "Why do you not come out into the street?" they cried. Their leader called on his men to rush forward, as there were only three men in the house. "To undeceive them, we gave a loud cheer, wounded and all joining. We barricaded the doorway partly with lumber, which we found in the house, partly with sand-bags, to obtain which we stripped the dead natives close about the door of their waist-cloths. The bodies of these natives about the doorway also offered an impediment to their making a rush on us. From their position at this time the mutineers could fire freely on our doolies in the square." In one of the doolies lay Lieutenant Arnold of the Madras Fusiliers. Private Ryan was sorely distressed at the cruel fate that awaited one of his officers, and he called for a volunteer to assist him in removing him. M'Manus had been wounded, but he instantly came forward. The barricade was removed. The two rushed across the gateway through the deadly fire into the square. They tried to lift the dooly, but found it beyond their strength. They then took Arnold out of the

Private
Ryan.

litter and carried him to the house. "The ground was torn by musket-balls about them, but they effected their return in safety, though Captain Arnold received a second wound through the thigh while in their arms. A wounded soldier was also brought in in this way, and he also, poor fellow, received two mortal wounds while being carried in, the men who carried them miraculously escaping."

Private
Hollowell.

An hour passed, and three out of the nine had received wounds which disabled them. Private Hollowell of the 78th was unshaken. He besought his comrades not to lose heart as he continued firing on the foe. The moment the rebels left their shelter to make a rush, he with unerring aim brought down one of them, and they scuttled back. Again they came out, and he laid low their leader. "He was quite an old man, dressed in white, with a red 'cummerbund' (waistband) and armed with sword and shield." Then the noise in the street ceased. A quarter of an hour passed : not a shot broke the stillness. Then a dull rolling noise in the street was heard. It sounded as if the enemy were bringing down a gun. It turned out to be a screen on wheels, "against which at the distance of a few yards a Minie rifle had no effect." They rolled it against the door, and then proceeded to mount the roof, scrape through the plaster, and throw quantities of lighted straw into the room. It was quickly filled with volumes of stifling smoke and set ablaze. "Thus situated, we knew not what to do. Numerous plans were suggested and abandoned. At last we raised the three most helpless

among the wounded, and dragging them after us rushed from the back door, which led into the square." They reached a shed on the north side of the square. During the rush Lieutenant Swanson of the 78th received a second wound, of which he died. The party now consisted of Dr A. C. Home, of her Majesty's 90th Regiment, and six men capable of using arms; four of the wounded were "capable of standing sentry." The first house in which they took shelter commanded the archway, and they were able to prevent the rebels from entering the square and murdering the wounded. But from the shed they could not protect them, and the rebels rushing into the square, butchered them. After the bloody work was over the enemy again opened fire on them through the doorways and numerous loopholes in the walls. They dug holes in the roof of the shed and fired down on them. To escape instant death the few survivors broke through a mud wall into a courtyard on the north side, "where we providentially found two pots of water." They were soon discovered by the enemy and driven back into the shed. Darkness had now fallen. The enemy ceased firing, but their footsteps could be heard as they paced backwards and forwards on the roof over their heads. Among the living and wounded, "some of them delirious," lay mingled the dead bodies of sepoy's. Brief was the respite allowed them for repose, a repose broken by the frequent alarm that the enemy was approaching. And then they again sank to sleep from exhaustion. About 2 A.M. they were roused by the

sound of heavy firing near them and the rush of the enemy over their heads. Relief had come at last. Instantly the cry arose, "Europeans!" "Europeans!" They then gave one loud cheer and shouted "Charge them!" "Charge them!" "Keep on your right!" The firing suddenly ceased. The last gleam of hope vanished away. To attempt to carry away the wounded was hopeless. They resigned themselves to their fate. Dawn broke. Soon after they heard firing in the distance. "This time it had no effect upon us." Nearer and nearer it approached. Then Ryan, suddenly jumping up, shouted, "Och, boys! them's our own chaps!" "We then all jumped up and united in a cheer, and kept shouting to keep on their right. At the same time we fired at the loopholes from which the enemy were firing. In about three minutes we saw Captain Moorsom appear at the entrance-hole of the shed, and beckoning to him, he entered; and then by his admirable arrangements we were all brought off safely, and soon after reached the palace with the rear-guard of the 90th Regiment."¹

Losses sustained by Havelock's force.

This was the last event in what is known in history as the First Relief of Lucknow. The bringing in of the wounded and the heavy guns greatly increased the severity of the losses. In his despatch, dated the 30th of September, Havelock wrote: "The killed, wounded, and missing, the latter being wounded

¹ "Account given by Dr A. C. Home, of her Majesty's 90th Regiment, of the defence made by a party belonging to the escort which accompanied the doolies and wounded on the 26th September."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, p. 323.

soldiers who, I much fear—some or all—have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe,¹ amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men.” Besides these 31 officers and 504 men who had been killed or wounded in the advance from Alumbagh, 207 had been killed previously during the six days of continual fighting that followed the crossing of the Ganges.² The loss in officers killed and wounded was specially serious. Colonel Tytler and Lieutenant Havelock were severely wounded: Colonel Campbell, in command of the 90th, was shot in the leg and died after suffering amputation of the limb. “For promptitude and vigour of action, cool judgment, and impetuous bravery he was pre-eminent.” Major Cooper, Brigadier Commanding Artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bazeley, a volunteer with the force, were killed. Captain Pakenham of the 84th, an able officer and devoted soldier, was shot dead as he was cheering his men on when entering the city. “Of him it might with truth be said that he ‘foremost fighting fell.’” Many noble soldiers fell that day. But the bravest of the brave dead was Neill. He had during his short but active career in Bengal “made himself,” as Lord Canning wrote, “conspicuous as an intelligent, prompt, and gallant soldier, ready of resource and stout of heart.” But a far finer testimony than any a Governor-General could pen remains of

¹ All the missing were of course killed. Outram put the rear-guard casualties at 61 killed and 77 missing.

² “A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow,” by General Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B.

his worth, and bears witness to the devotion of the men to their favourite commander. A soldier of the 78th Highlanders wrote on September 28th to his brother: "And here, when success had crowned our efforts, shocking to relate, our brave General Neill fell. He was an honour to the country, and the idol of the British Army."

Success was bought at a heavy sacrifice of life. But Havelock's veterans enjoyed something even greater than the glory of victory. They had the proud consciousness of having by their indomitable spirit baffled the strength of a highly disciplined army, and of having delivered from death a host of women and children. "Rarely has a commander," wrote Lord Canning, "been so fortunate as to relieve by his success so many aching hearts, or to reap so rich a reward of gratitude as will deservedly be offered to Brigadier-General Havelock and his gallant band, wherever their triumph shall become known." The story of their triumph is well known wherever our English is spoken, and the more its history is examined the more will it be seen to be one of the most sublime episodes in our national annals. The nature of the British soldier was then seen at its very best.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE wasted garrison in the Residency intrenchment had now been reinforced by more than two thousand men, but neither their dangers nor their privations were at an end. With the increase in troops the circuit of the position had to be enlarged. On the 26th of September Outram assumed command of the forces, and on the 27th September 27th September. the palaces extending along the lines of the river from the Residency to near the Kaisar Bagh were occupied by our troops. These palaces, as mere shelter, gave excellent accommodation; as a military position they had great disadvantages. The northern face was well protected by the river Goomtee, but the east and the south-east faces were surrounded by buildings and in contact with the city. "The position was too extensive for our force, nearly all of which was occupied in guarding it; but it was susceptible of no reduction, so that most desirable as it was that we should have occupied some of the interior buildings as flanking defences, we were unable to do so, but were obliged to confine ourselves to the palaces and gardens, and to erect precautionary defences against any means of annoyance the enemy could devise."

At 2 P.M. on September 27th, the Madras Fusiliers were ordered to parade for a sortie, under command

27th September.
Sortie
against the
Garden
Battery.

of Major Stephenson of the same regiment, for the purpose of capturing the Garden Battery opposite to our Cawnpore battery. A few men of her Majesty's 32nd, under Lieutenant Warner, 7th Bengal Cavalry, Captain Kemble, 41st Bengal Infantry, Lieutenant Anderson, Madras Engineers, and Lieutenant Mecham, 27th Madras Native Infantry, accompanied the party. Some artillerymen under the command of Captain Evans, to explode the guns, and two sepoys of the 18th Native Infantry under the order of Lieutenant M'Leod Innes, with picks to help in knocking down obstacles, should it be necessary, also accompanied them. The party proceeded through the Tehree Kothee across the road in rear of the Clock Tower, and then took ground to the right. Immediately they had crossed the road they became exposed to the enemy's fire from a large house. It was attacked, but instead of being taken possession of, it was merely passed through. On debouching from the house, the party found themselves on the road in front of an embrasure with a gun in it, which poured forth grape. Headed by Major Stephenson, the soldiers rushed in, and the enemy abandoned the gun. As the bursting party had not come up, Captain Evans was compelled merely to spike it. Meanwhile a party under Captain Fraser proceeded to reconnoitre a little farther, when they came on another battery of the enemy, consisting of a 24-pounder and an 18-pounder gun. These two were abandoned, and Sergeant Lidster, Madras Fusiliers, spiked the former, and Corporal Dowling the latter, "being

Sergeant
Lidster.
Corporal
William
Dowling.

at the same time under a most heavy fire from the enemy."¹ From all around the enemy poured upon them their missiles, and Captain Fraser sent back to Major Stephenson to say he required a reinforcement. On this Captain Galway proceeded with a few men to the spot. He found that, owing to the number of the enemy, it was impossible to hold the position. He returned and reported this to Major Stephenson, who ordered the party to retire on the main body. "One of the Madras Fusiliers sergeants being badly wounded, Captain Galway, Lieutenant Mecham, 27th Madras Native Infantry, Private Smith, her Majesty's 32nd, and myself," writes Lieutenant Warner, "with great difficulty managed to get him back to the main body. This private was, I regret to say, killed in the retreat."² Major Stephenson then ordered us to retreat, "which was done by the same route by which we had advanced. During the retreat we

Private
Smith.

¹ From Captain M. Galway, commanding 1st Madras Fusiliers, to the Deputy Adjutant-General, dated Lucknow, November 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 278. Memorandum regarding the sortie of the 27th September, dated Chuttur Munzil, 8th November 1857. J. M'Leod Innes, Lieutenant, Engineers.—Ibid., vol. ii. p. 281. From Lieutenant A. C. Warner, Adjutant, 7th Light Cavalry, to Captain Wilson, Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow Garrison, dated Lucknow, 7th November 1857.—Ibid., vol. ii. p. 280.

² From Lieutenant A. C. Warner, Adjutant, 7th Light Cavalry, to Captain Wilson, Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow Garrison, dated Lucknow, 7th November 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 280. "One sergeant, severely wounded, and since dead, must have been left on the ground had not a private of the 32nd Regiment, in the most gallant manner, with the assistance of Captain Galway, taken him up and carried him to a place of safety." From Captain M. Galway, commanding 1st Madras Fusiliers, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.—Ibid., vol. ii. p. 279.

were exposed to a heavy fire from the houses. The conduct of Corporal Cooney and Private Smith, of the 32nd, who were both killed, was most noble." The first sortie was a comparative failure, and "without a much larger body of men the complete conquest and destruction of the whole Garden Battery could not have been accomplished."

28th Sep-
tember.

On the 28th, the Palace buildings extending in the direction of the Khar Bazaar were explored by Captain Morrison, who, with a party of 50 men of the 90th and 5th Fusiliers, gallantly drove the enemy out at the point of the bayonet, killing a considerable number of them. Captain Morrison then placed a picket in a house commanding the Cheena and Khas Bazaars.

28th Sep-
tember.
Three
sorties.

Sortie
from Third
Sikh
Square.

On the following day three sorties were made simultaneously: one from the Brigade Mess, the other from the Sikh Square to the right of the Brigade Mess, and a third from the Redan, towards the iron bridges. At daybreak the party intending to take the guns to the front and right of the Brigade Mess and Sikh Square fell in and filed out of the Third Sikh Square. The advance consisted of 20 men of her Majesty's 32nd Regiment under Lieutenant Cooke, the main body of 140 men of her Majesty's 78th Highlanders under Captain Lockhart, and the reserve of 90 men of the 1st Madras Fusiliers under Captain Galway. Lieutenant Innes commanded the Engineers, and Lieutenant J. Alexander the Artillery. Major Apthorp, Captain Forbes, and Lieutenant Ousely, knowing the ground, accompanied the force. The men of

the 32nd, creeping forward under cover of some broken ground, suddenly burst forth with a cheer, and, led by Lieutenant Cooke and Private Kelly, captured the first gun, a brass 12-pounder, and the 32nd, by occupying a house in the rear, enabled the artillery to burst it unmolested. The enemy then rallied round a gun to the right; but the 78th Highlanders, led by Captain Lockhart, who was slightly wounded, swept forward, and before the rebels could reload it, Sergeant James Young bayoneted one of the gunners, and the gun was taken.¹ The leading Highlanders rushed on to the right, but their progress was again barred by a small gun and some wall pieces at the end of a narrow lane. After a difficult detour Lieutenant Ousely, 48th Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Aitken, 13th Native Infantry, took these pieces in flank by getting into a house above them, and "with a cheer and volley routed the enemy." "This manœuvre was most skilfully and gallantly executed. Sergeant Higgins, with four men of the Madras Fusiliers, and Private Brown, 32nd, are stated to have been the first men at the gun. Mr Lucas, a volunteer well known for his bravery, was mortally wounded here."² Major Apthorp and Captain Forbes, with the Fusiliers

Lieut.
Cooke and
Private
Kelly.

Sergeant
James
Young,
78th High-
landers.

Sergeant
Higgins.

¹ "Sergeant James Young, 78th Highlanders, the first man at the gun, bayoneted one of the enemy's gunners while reloading, and was severely wounded by a sword cut." From Lieutenant G. Hardinge, commanding Irregular Cavalry, to Colonel Napier, Chief of the Staff, dated Lucknow, 22nd October 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii, p. 289.

² "One heavy gun was burst, three smaller ones and some wall pieces were brought in."

under Captain Galway, occupied the houses commanding the guns, which were dismantled from their carriages and sent into the garrison. The batteries and barricades were destroyed, the houses blown up, and under cover of the falling ruins the party returned unmolested, "having examined and cleared the guns from the whole of the front of Mr Gubbins' house."

Meanwhile the party, consisting of 200 men, with a reserve of 150 men, under the command of Captain M'Cabe, had crept forth from the left square Brigade Mess with the object of destroying the enemy's guns in front of the Cawnpore Battery, and on the left of the Cawnpore Road. The advance was made in file over the *débris* of a house which had been blown up during the siege. There before them lay, behind a breastwork, an 18-pounder gun. No sooner did the rebels catch sight of their foe than they sent two rounds at them. Before they could fire again the soldiers had scaled the battery and pushed them out at the point of the bayonet. A large building lay to their left. M'Cabe, "the gallant leader of many sorties," drove the enemy out of the lower storey, but was mortally wounded in the operation. Several others were killed and wounded before the house was completely taken. Leaving a picket of 25 men to guard it, Major Simmons, her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, with the main body, proceeded along a narrow lane with the object of occupying two large buildings 70 or 80 yards in front of the house. Leading his men into the more advanced buildings,

Sortie
from left
square.

Captain
M'Cabe
mortally
wounded.

Simmons was killed by a musket shot. The party had now reached a position from which they had a view of the enemy's 18-pounder gun in front of the Cawnpore batteries. It lay in a lane running towards the Cawnpore Road, the end of which was barricaded and loopholed; and directly in line with it, on the opposite side of the road, the enemy occupied a house from which they kept up a hot musketry-fire on our position. "Lieutenant Anderson, the Garrison Engineer, sent for the reserve and desired that an officer of rank to command the whole party should accompany it. Outram, who had become acquainted with the progress of the party, sent word that unless further advance could be made without danger of considerable loss, the design of proceeding against the enemy's gun in view should be abandoned, and that the party should retire after destroying in succession the houses they had seized." This was done. Two of the enemy's guns were destroyed, three large houses demolished, and the party gradually withdrawing to the rear, reached the garrison about 9 A.M. The two sorties from the Brigade Mess had cleared a range of about 300 yards, which was of great service to the front of the intrenchment.

The third sortie, from Innes' post, did not prove as successful as Outram wished. Its principal object was to secure the iron bridge and to open communications with well-wishers in the city. The party started about daybreak from the Redan battery along the road to the iron bridge, and as it advanced it took and spiked two mortars and

Major
Simmons
killed.

Sortie
from
Innes'
post.

four guns of small calibre. The party then quitted the road and advanced against the 24-pounder gun opposite Innes' post, which had so long battered that building, the Residency, the churches, and Gubbins' house, and done immense injury during the siege. It was captured, and the houses near having been occupied, it was destroyed successfully. The houses to the rear of the party leading from the iron bridge were, however, owing to an order not being carried out, now occupied, and a very heavy fire being opened from them, the party was compelled to withdraw after sustaining a severe loss.

It was the urgent desire of the Government that the garrison should be relieved, and the women and children, amounting to upwards of 470 souls, should be withdrawn. But Outram, taking into consideration the heavy loss at which the troops forced their way through the enemy, rightly concluded that it would be impossible to carry off the sick, wounded, women, and children, amounting to 1500 souls. "Want of carriages," as he wrote, "alone rendered the transport through five miles of disputed suburb an impossibility."¹

There remained but two alternatives. The first was to reinforce the Lucknow garrison with 300 men, and, leaving everything behind him, to cut his way with the remains of the infantry to Alum Bagh. The reasons against this course were grave

¹ From Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., to his Excellency Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, dated Lucknow, 30th September 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 226.

and cogent. Outram would have left the garrison in a worse plight than when he arrived, by the addition of a larger number of wounded to feed, as well as 300 soldiers. These 300 would be sufficient to afford the additional protection required, but they would not have added such strength as would have enabled the garrison to make an active defence, to repel attack by sorties, or to prevent the enemy from occupying the whole of their own positions. It was impossible for Outram to leave behind more men, for with a smaller force he had little hope of making good his way back, even with severe loss. He, therefore, accepted the second alternative, which was to remain in the Residency till succour should come, enforce supplies of provisions, if they could not be obtained voluntarily, and maintain himself and his men, even on reduced rations, until reinforcements advanced to their relief.

The failure to secure the iron bridge deprived Outram of the hope of receiving a voluntary supply of food from the city, and at the same time he got a message from the Alum Bagh detachment saying that they were in urgent need of provisions. He, therefore, determined to open out communication with them, and ordered the cavalry to make their way to Alum Bagh. They, however, found the investment so strong and close that all their attempts failed, and they had to return to the intrenchments. Outram then determined to work his way from house to house along the Cawnpore Road. To accomplish this it was first indispensable

to capture Phillip's house and garden, with its powerful battery, which faced our Cawnpore battery on the south and flanked the Cawnpore Road.

1st
October,
attack on
Phillip's
Garden
and
Battery.

In the afternoon of the 1st October the column for this object, under the command of Colonel Napier, formed in the road leading to the Paeen Bagh, and advanced through the buildings near the jails, occupying the main houses on the left and front of the garden. Meanwhile the enemy were driven from some houses and a barricade on the left of our advance by 50 men of the Madras Fusiliers, "led by Lieutenant Groom, under a sharp fire of musketry, in a very spirited manner."¹ The houses in front were found to be strongly barricaded, and in many cases the doors were bricked up. It was, therefore, late before the attacking force had worked a way to a point from which they could command the enemy's position. "A party of the enemy was driven out, and a row of loopholes was commenced immediately, and the ground examined right and left. Attempts to penetrate the garden to the left were ineffectual; to the right an opening was obtained which disclosed that the enemy's batteries were separated

¹ It consisted of the following troops: "Detachments of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers; 32nd, 64th, 78th, and 90th Regiments, and the Hon'ble East India Company's 1st Madras Fusiliers, under Major Haliburton, Her Majesty's 78th; Captain Shute, Her Majesty's 64th, and Captain Raikes, Madras Fusiliers, amounting to 568 men; Lieutenant Limond, Engineers, and Lieutenant Tulloch, Acting Assistant Field Engineers, attended the column, with a party of five miners of Her Majesty's 32nd, and a party of artillery, under Sergeant Smith, with means of bursting guns." From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding the Forces.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 265.

from us by a narrow lane some 12 or 15 feet below the garden ; the latter was surrounded by a deep mud wall with buildings attached. The face of the battery was scarped, and quite inaccessible without ladders. A heavy fire was kept up from the face of the battery, and the lane was blocked by a strong barricade." As it was dark, and a direct attack would be certain to cost many lives, Colonel Napier determined to wait till daylight before assaulting the battery. The position was duly secured, and the men occupied the buildings for the night."¹

In the morning, after arranging with the artillery to open fire from the intrenchment, the troops advanced. From the barricade flanking the lane on the left the enemy opened a terrible fire, but a company, under Lieutenant Creagh, Madras Fusiliers, turned it by the Cawnpore Road. The troops then doubled through the lane and, led by Captain Shute, her Majesty's 64th, and Lieutenant Brown, 5th Fusiliers, found a way through a stockade into the enemy's battery and drove the rebels out of it. Phillip's house was occupied without further opposition. Leaving a piquet in possession, the troops advanced on the guns which had been withdrawn to the end of the garden and to the street adjoining. The

¹ From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding the Forces, dated Lucknow, 5th October 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 265.

"The sortie of the 29th had already cleared the flank on the other side of the Cawnpore Road."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General M'Leod Innes, V.C., p. 231.

rebels defended them with musketry and grape, but our men under Private M'Hale of the 5th Fusiliers charged, for a minute or two they fought, and the guns were ours. They were immediately dragged to the garden and burst, their carriages completely destroyed and their ammunition sent to the intrenchment. "Phillip's house was blown up by a party under Lieutenant Innes, Engineers, and at dark the troops withdrew to their position of the previous night."¹ The capture and destruction of Phillip's house was effected with the comparatively trifling loss of ten killed and eleven wounded,—"a result which," as Outram wrote, "was due to the careful and scientific dispositions of Colonel Napier, under whose personal guidance the operation was conducted."² It was impossible to estimate the loss of the enemy.

3rd
October.

On the following morning Major Haliburton, 78th Highlanders, commenced to work from house to house with the crowbar and the pickaxe. On the 4th October this gallant officer was mortally wounded, and his successor, Major Stephenson, disabled. During the whole of the 5th these proceedings were continued, on the 6th they were relinquished. It was found that a large mosque strongly occupied by the enemy required more

4th
October.

6th
October,
operations
relin-
quished.

¹ From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding the Forces.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 267.

² From Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., commanding Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 244.

extensive operations for its capture than were expedient. Outram also had now been relieved from his most pressing burden. The strict scrutiny of the Commissariat stores which he had ordered, revealed the fact that the amount of provisions had been under-estimated. The reconnoitring party, therefore, after blowing up all the principal houses on the Cawnpore Road, from which the garrison had been annoyed by musketry, gradually withdrew to the position in front of Phillip's garden which was retained as a permanent outpost. It not only afforded comfortable accommodation to her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, but also protected a considerable portion of the intrenchment from molestation, besides connecting it with the palaces occupied by General Havelock.

During the foregoing operations, the enemy, recovering from their first surprise, commenced to threaten our position in the palaces and outposts by mining and assaults. On the 3rd October they sprang a mine near the walls of the advanced garden, which merely shook it without bringing it down. "On the 5th, they exploded a second mine which effected a considerable breach, and appeared in some force with the intention of making an assault, but on the head of the column showing itself on the breach, a well-directed fire from her Majesty's 90th caused it to retreat precipitately and with considerable loss."¹ They

Mining
operations
of the
enemy
in the
palaces,
3rd
October.

5th
October.

¹ From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Captain Hudson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh Field Force. — "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 272.

made a second practicable breach by burning down one of the gateways, at which they occasionally appeared to fire a shot or two. Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell had re-trenched both these breaches, which it became evident that the enemy had no real intention of assaulting, but they exposed the garden to so severe a musketry fire from commanding buildings on the right called Hirun Khana (Deer House), that it became necessary to open trenches of communication, which were commenced by Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell and his officers. "On the 6th, the enemy blew up the picquet overlooking the Cheena and Khas Bazaars, causing us a loss of three men, and, in the confusion that ensued, penetrated in considerable numbers into the palace, where many of them were destroyed. They are said to have lost 450 men. The remainder were driven back, but continued to occupy a part of the palace buildings which had been in our possession. Of these the nearest to us was a mosque commanded by our buildings, but giving several easy means of access to our position. On the 8th, the enemy attacked from the mosque our nearest picquets, but were repulsed with loss." In order to prevent a repetition of the annoyance, Colonel Napier examined carefully, in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell and Captain Moorsom, other buildings connecting them with those of the enemy, and they succeeded in penetrating to a vault under their position, "where, screened by the obscurity, we could see the enemy closely surrounding the

8th
October.

entrance, and hear them in considerable numbers overhead. A charge of two barrels of powder was lodged in the vault, and was fired by Lieutenant Russell of the Bengal Engineers. The effect was complete: many of the enemy were blown up and their position greatly injured, while we obtained a command over the streets leading to the Khas and Cheena Bazaars better and more secure from molestation than our previous one."¹ The post was immediately and securely barricaded by Captain Crommelin. It was absolutely necessary to our security to recapture the mosque. Colonel Napier, accompanied by Colonel Purnell and a small party of the 90th, and Madras Fusiliers, surprised the enemy and drove them out of it with very trifling loss on our side. It was also immediately barricaded and secured by Captain Crommelin.

The outpost of her Majesty's 78th Highlanders under Captain Lockhart was also vigorously assailed by the enemy's miners. Six days after our occupying that post the enemy began their operations at the left of our position, and the men of the 78th, under the guidance of Lieutenants Hutchinson and Tulloch, were constantly at work day and night countermining against them, and several galleries, on the average about five hundred feet in length, were constructed. Numerous attacks of the enemy on the miners were repelled,

Mining
operations
of the
enemy at
Lockhart's
post.

¹ From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Captain Hudson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh Field Force, dated Lucknow, 20th November 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 272.

and on more than one occasion the success of the defenders was exceptional. In the night of the 10th October they broke into this gallery some twelve feet from our walls. Sergeant Day, the superintending engineer, assisted by a few men, held the entrance till Captain Lockhart arrived. Accompanied by Corporal Thompson, of the 78th Highlanders, he entered the enemy's gallery and, observing its apparently great length, the three proceeded to extinguish the lights and creep forward cautiously till they distinctly saw the enemy at the far end, and to advance farther would be to advance in a blaze of light. The two then lay down and waited until the preparations for exploding the mine, under Lieutenant Tulloch, were completed. "Whilst lying there I saw a sepoy with a musket at trail advance down the mine, and when within 40 feet of him, fired at him. My pistol missed fire, and before Corporal Thompson could hand me his pistol, the sepoy had retreated." As Lockhart's services were required to see the charge laid, Lieutenant Hay, of the 78th Highlanders, who commanded the picquet, volunteered to take his post of observation whilst Lieutenant Tulloch and Sergeant Day quickly got the powder down. A charge of 50 lb. was laid 82 feet up the enemy's gallery; Lieutenant Hay withdrew within a partial barricade, "and whilst here still watching with Corporal Thompson, he got two shots at another man who attempted to come down the mine, and apparently wounded him." The charge was soon tamped and Lieutenant Tulloch fired the

mine,—“a somewhat difficult task, as our bore being short, he had to retreat some sixty feet through the enemy’s gallery and ours and then up the shaft.”¹

The efforts of the enemy’s miners were foiled at all points, and these efforts were neither few in number nor lacking in vigour. “I am aware,” wrote Outram, “of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war: 21 shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3291 feet of gallery have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts; of these they exploded three which caused us loss of life and two which did no injury; seven have been blown in, and out of seven others the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners, results of which the Engineer Department may well be proud.” The defence of the palaces was a trying and noble defence to which full justice has not been done. A line of gardens, coverts, and dwelling-houses, without fortified *enceinte*, without flanking defence, and closely connected with the buildings of a city, were held

¹ “In concluding this report I would respectfully bring to your notice the valuable assistance rendered by Sergeant Day, of the 32nd, who was in charge of the mines, and, until Lieutenant Tulloch was posted to the position, acted direct under my orders. His zeal and quiet steady management of the raw recruits under him has been most commendable. I would also bring to your notice the unremitting zeal and attention to his work manifested by Lieutenant Tulloch since he has been in charge of the post, and during the period of my acting here Lieutenant Tulloch has almost entirely—unassisted by me—carried on our system of mines most successfully.” “Memorandum of work executed at Captain Lockhart’s post from the first possession of it until the 21st of November 1857.” G. Hutchinson, Lieutenant, Engineers, Director of Works.—“State Papers,” vol. ii. p. 296.

for eight weeks not only against all the vigorous efforts of the enemy's miners, but in spite of the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows, often within thirty yards, and a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape from guns posted at various distances, from seventy to five hundred yards. "This result," as Outram stated, "was obtained by the skill and courage of the Engineer and Quartermaster-General's Department, zealously aided by the brave officers and soldiers, who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine, that they had previously exhibited when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet and amidst a most murderous fire."¹

Defence
of the
intrench-
ments.

The occupation of the palaces relieved the garrison of the intrenchment from all molestation on one-half of its *enceinte*—that is, from the Cawnpore Road to the commencement of the river front. Owing to this relief and an additional force composed of detachments of the Artillery, Volunteer

¹ "From Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., commanding Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Alumbagh, 25th November 1857. "But skilful and courageous as have been the engineering operations, and glorious the behaviour of the troops, their success has been in no small degree promoted by the incessant and self-denying devotion of Colonel Napier, who has never been many hours absent by day or night from any one of the points of operation, whose valuable advice has ever been readily tendered and gratefully accepted by the executive officers, whose earnestness and kindly cordiality have stimulated and encouraged all ranks and grades amidst their harassing difficulties and dangerous labours."—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 246.

Cavalry, 1st Madras Fusiliers, and 78th Highlanders, but placed at the disposal of Colonel Inglis, who commanded the intrenchment, he was enabled to hold at the posts three strong positions commanding the road leading to the iron bridge, "which have proved of great advantage, causing much annoyance to the enemy and keeping their musketry fire at a distance from the body of the palace."

The enemy, after the capture of their batteries and the construction of our new batteries to mount additional guns, adopted a new system of tactics. Their guns were withdrawn to a greater distance and disposed so as to act not against the defences, but against the interior of the intrenchment, and the moment they were searched out and silenced by our guns, their position was changed so that their shot ranged through the old Residency. Again, as before, round shot and bullets did their work. A lady records in her diary: "An 18-pounder came through our unfortunate room; it broke the panels of the door and knocked the whole of the barricade down, upsetting everything. My dressing-table was sent flying through the door, and if the shot had come a little earlier my head would have gone with it. The box where I usually sit to nurse baby was smashed flat." On the south side of the intrenchment the fire continued to be most severe, and the casualties were numerous. At night the fire used often to be so heavy that every man had to be under arms to repel an attack. But now, owing to the increase of the number of the fighting-men, and the defences which were

barely tenable having been repaired,¹ there was no longer any immediate danger of the place being taken by assault. Life, however, continued to be bitter, and death was ever near. Scanty and unsavoury rations produced foul and mortal sickness. The stores of provisions that had been discovered had destroyed the gaunt spectre of famine, but "two scanty meals a-day, barely sufficient to support existence without allaying hunger," were all that could be allowed. They were denied all the little luxuries (such as tea, sugar, rum, and tobacco), which by constant use had become necessities of life. On the 26th of October the scanty scale of rations was further reduced to make them last a month. On the 26th of October, a month after Havelock and Outram had forced their way into the Residency, a gallant member of the force wrote: "Most truly can each individually exclaim with the Psalmist, 'My bones look out and stare upon me.' We have become as gaunt and lean as possible; but the wretched horses and cattle are even in worse plight. I never see the poor creatures without commiseration." For the dumb cattle there was pity. But of his own sufferings the British soldier made light. His spirits, cheerfulness, zeal, and discipline rose with the occasion. "Never," wrote Outram, "could there have been

¹ "The Cawnpore Battery was almost entirely reconstructed. The sheep-house and the slaughter-house batteries were completed, and the mound that stretched out from Innes' post was secured by a series of zigzag trenches, which also gave an effective command over the end of the iron bridge."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General MacLeod Innes, V.C., p. 241.

a force more free from grumblers, more cheerful, more willing, or more earnest. Amongst the sick and wounded this glorious spirit was, if possible, still more conspicuous than amongst those fit for duty. It was a painful sight to see so many noble fellows maimed and suffering, and denied those comforts of which they stood so much in need. But it was truly delightful, and made one proud of his countrymen, to observe the heroic fortitude and hearty cheerfulness with which all was borne.”¹ Of the women a brave soldier wrote: “*Each individual seems a heroine.*” The relief had removed the fear of instant death, but it had not taken away the winter of their desolation, or made the buds unfold and the leaves grow within. They saw their children continue to pine, waste, and die for want of good food and fresh air. But they did not complain. Theirs was the spirit of their Master, and the same bitter cup had been given them to drink.

Thus October crept slowly on. The detachment at Alum Bagh, under the command of Major M’Intyre, continued to hold its own. On the 7th of October it was strengthened by 250 men and two guns from Cawnpore under the command of Major Bingham, her Majesty’s 64th Regiment. It brought commissariat stores, but by some strange mischance no supplies for natives. On the 17th of October

Alum
Bagh.

¹ “They have neither bedding nor greatcoats, spirits nor tobacco, yet they endure these privations with a degree of sturdy cheerfulness the most admirable. The intensity of the sun at mid day is absolutely torturing.”—“Journal of an English Officer,” by Major North, p. 224.

Colonel Wilson, commanding at Cawnpore, telegraphed to the Chief of the Staff at Calcutta that the Delhi fugitives had reached Bithoor. "They had been obliged to divide in consequence of scarcity of food. Each division marched one day ahead of the other. The first would probably reach Sheorajpore to-morrow, and so on. The Nana is in communication and is trying to induce them to join him at Bithoor where his valuables are buried. Such being the case, I move out with 600 infantry and six guns (five 9-pounders, one 24-pounder howitzer) at 1 A.M. to-morrow morning, the 18th. No elephants. Will carry merely the party, so that I hope to give a good account of our enemies." The next evening Captain Bruce sent the following message from Sheorajpore : "We reached at three-thirty ; drove the enemy right out of the place, which was strong, with hardly any resistance, and followed them up two miles and continued for a mile and a half farther with a few sowars, but they could not be overtaken. I suspect their almost nominal opposition was to cover their flight. Our casualties, seven or eight. No guns taken, but some ordnance stores." The road having been cleared, a new convoy left for the Alum Bagh on October 22nd, consisting of 500 infantry, 50 cavalry, and two guns. The same day a message was received from the Commander-in-Chief that he was about to start for Cawnpore, and requesting that his "best regards by *Cossid*" be sent to General Outram, who was to be informed that the Chief had never ceased from his exertions,

Action at
Sheoraj-
pore, 18th
October.

"to press every available soldier up to his support." News also reached Outram that Colonel Greathed's column, which had been ordered to march from Agra at once to Cawnpore for service in Oudh, was now but a few marches from its destination, under the command of Sir Hope Grant.

CHAPTER XXX

DIRECTLY Delhi fell Sir Archdale Wilson determined to send a column under the command of Colonel Greathed, her Majesty's 8th Foot, to clear the Gangetic Doab of rebels, and to restore authority in a vast province, where our rule had disappeared like a dream, and left behind only the isolated garrisons at Meerut and Agra. The troops selected to restore our power from Delhi to Cawnpore were as follows:—

	European.	Native.
Captain Remmington's troop of Horse Artillery, five guns	60	...
Captain Blunt's troop of Horse Artillery, five guns	60	...
Bourchier's Battery, six guns	60	60
Sappers 200	
H.M.'s 9th Lancers	300	...
Detachments 1st, 4th, 5th Punjab Cavalry and Hodson's Horse 400	
European Infantry, H.M.'s 8th and 75th	450	...
Punjab Infantry, 1st and 4th Regiments 1200	
 Total of each	<hr/> 930	<hr/> 1860
 Grand total	<hr/> 2790	

24th September,
Colonel
Greathed's
column
leaves
Delhi.

On the morning of the 24th of September the column marched forth from the "city of the dead." "Our road from the Ajmere Gate to the bridge lay through the Lahore Gate and passing along the

Chandny Choke. Not a sound was heard save the deep rumble of our gun wheels, or the hoarse challenge of a sentry on the ramparts. Here might be seen a house gutted of its contents, there a jackal feeding on the half-demolished body of a sepoy ; arms, carts, shot, dead bodies lay about in the wildest manner. Outstretched and exposed to the public gaze, lay the bodies of the two sons and grandson of the wretched King : they had been captured and executed the day before near Hymayoun's tomb." That night the column camped at Ghazi-ud-din Nagar, where the mutinous sepoy had first learnt that he was no match for the British soldier.¹

On the 27th of September Secundra was reached. 27th September. "The town and surrounding villages were in a terrible plight. The inhabitants, quiet cultivators of the land, and a race opposed to the Goojahs (or bandits), flocked out to meet us and implore our protection. Every house had been gutted and destroyed, their property of every kind taken, and their bullocks, the only means of drawing water for irrigation purposes, driven away." Through a land laid waste by a savage tribe and deserted villages the column pressed on to Bulandshahr, a civil station forty-two miles from Meerut and about five from the fort of Malagarh. Before dawn, September 29th, the advanced guard arrived at four cross-roads,² Action at Buland-shahr.

¹ See vol. i. p. 66.

² "Early in the morning of the 28th Norman [General Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B.], Lyall [Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.], and I marching with Watson's cavalry two or three miles in advance of the column arrived at cross roads, one leading to Bulandshahr, the other to

about a mile and a half from Bulandshahr. One of them led to Malagarh, and one straight ahead to the town and civil station. At sight of our approach a picquet of the enemy fell back, and the scouts brought the news that they intended to give battle at the station. The rebels' position was undoubtedly strong. Their guns in battery commanded the entrance, the gardens and offices were occupied by their infantry, around which bodies of horse hovered.¹ At the junction of the four roads a reserve was immediately formed under Major Turner to protect the baggage. It was at once attacked in flank by cavalry and guns, but they were quickly driven off with loss. The remainder of the infantry and the artillery were drawn up on the left of the road. The advanced guard was strengthened by two of Captain Remmington's Horse Artillery guns, and soon were in action, as the enemy opened at once down the road. Remmington's guns swiftly returned

Malagarh, a fort belonging to a Mahomedan of the name of Waldad Khan, who when the British rule was in abeyance assumed authority over the district in the name of the Emperor of Delhi. We halted, and having put our picquets lay down and waited for the dawn. From information obtained by the civil officers with the column, we suspected that large numbers of the mutineers were collected in the neighbourhood."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 260.

¹ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 85.

"Our infantry coming up found the enemy occupying an extremely strong position, in the gaol and a walled serai at the entrance to the town, their left being covered by the enclosed gardens and reserved houses of the deserted civil station within which they were collected in considerable force."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 261.

the fire, and he was reinforced by the remainder of his troops. Bourchier, with his battery, took up his position more to the right, supported by a squadron of Punjab Cavalry and a portion of her Majesty's 75th. The enemy's guns awaken on him, while from the high crops and surrounding gardens the rebels send a stream of musketry. But the cross fire was fatal to their battery, and it was silenced. A few salvos of grape cleared the front, and the artillery was ordered to advance. "Lieutenant Roberts of the artillery, who seemed ubiquitous, brought the order at a gallop. The guns charged and took the battery, the enemy scampering before us as we came up to it. Lieutenant Roberts was first at the guns. A second burst, after clearing our front with grape, brought us to the goal, the enemy flying before us like sheep."¹

Lieut.
Roberts
first at
the guns.

Meanwhile a second column, consisting of the greater portion of the cavalry with two guns under Lieutenant Cracklow, had advanced into the town, and were for a time exposed to a most severe fire in the street. "Four men out of one gun crew were wounded, and the gun was worked with difficulty. The cavalry charged and routed several large bodies of the enemy. In pursuing them they became entangled in the narrow streets, and at a gateway leading out of the town a hard fight ensued." "Sarel was wounded in the act of running a sepoy through the body, the forefinger of his right hand

¹ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 87.

being taken off by a bullet, which then passed through his left arm; Anson was surrounded by mutineers, and performed prodigies of valour, for which he was rewarded with the Victoria Cross."¹ Lieutenant Roberts had a narrow escape. In the midst of the *mélée* he observed a sepoy taking deliberate aim at him, and tried to get at him. "He fired; my frightened animal reared, and received in his head the bullet which was intended for me"²

The results of the action were: on our side, killed six men, wounded six officers and thirty-five men; on the rebels', some 300 killed, with three guns and a large amount of ammunition and baggage captured. The engagement had begun about 7 A.M., and at 11 A.M. camp was pitched on the banks of the Kala Naddi. In the afternoon the fort of Malagarh was reconnoitred and found to be deserted. Preparations were at once made for rendering it incapable of defence by destroying one of its bastions by firing. On the 1st of October this operation was successfully carried out, but in superintending it Lieutenant Home, who was one of the brave band who had blown up the Kashmir Gate on the morning Delhi was stormed, was killed by accident. To him had been promised the Cross of Valour, but he lived not to wear it. But his name lives in the bead-roll of England's heroes. Of him a brother officer writes: "The loss of poor Home has thrown a cloud over all our successes. He

Destru-
ction of the
fort of
Malagarh.

Lieut.
Home
killed.

¹ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 261.

² Ibid.

was brave among brave men and an honour to our service."

On the 3rd of October the column marched from Bulandshahr and advanced day by day, visiting and burning villages which had harboured rebels. On the 5th of October Aligarh was reached. The enemy at our approach had abandoned the city, but they were pursued by the cavalry and many were killed. The column then marched down the Trunk Road, surprised and killed two rebel Rajput chiefs at Akhrabad, fourteen miles from Aligarh on the Cawnpore Road. Here Greathed had to alter his plans. He had intended to march straight down the Doab to relieve Havelock and Outram, but now from Agra, which expected an attack, came pouring into his camp "epistles imploring aid in every language, both dead and living, and in cypher." Unable to resist these appeals, he turned across country by Bryjgarh to Hatras, where for a few hours the cattle were rested. The European infantry were carried on elephants, carts, and camels, and all were pushed on till the cavalry and artillery which had been sent in advance were overtaken. At sunrise on the morning of the 10th of October the column crossed the Jumna by the bridge of boats, and as the men marched beneath the walls of the old fort at Agra they were cheered heartily by their comrades mounted on the bastions. They had done forty-four miles in twenty-eight hours. The long march had given the British soldiers the livery of the sun. "These dreadful-looking men must be Afghans," remarked a lady

3rd
October.
The
column
leaves
Buland-
shahr

10th
October.
The
column
arrives
at Agra

as she saw the men of the 8th Queen's march slowly and wearily by the Delhi Gate of the fort.¹

A sore disappointment awaited the force. They were informed that the enemy they had come to fight had retired beyond the Khara Naddi, a stream about nine miles distant.² Colonel Greathed gave orders that the camp should be pitched on the brigade parade-ground, a grassy open level spot a mile and a half from the fort, bordered on the left and rear by the ruined lines of the Native Infantry regiment and the charred remains of the houses of their British officers. Right and front spreads out a wide plain bare of hedges, ploughable, studded with brier, all of it now covered with huge crops.

¹ "We went to the royal bastion this morning to see Colonel Greathed's movable column cross the bridge. Sikhs, Lancers, three batteries of horse artillery, and skeletons of two Queen's regiments. This column came in by long forced marches, owing to an express sent out by Colonel Fraser. From the bastions we went down to the Delhi Gate. The Queen's 8th passed within three yards of us. 'These dreadful-looking men must be Afghans,' said a lady to me as they slowly and wearily marched by. I did not discover they were Englishmen till I saw a short clay pipe in the mouth of nearly the last man. My heart bled to see these jaded miserable objects, and to think of all they must have suffered since May last to reduce such fine Englishmen to such worn-out dried skeletons."—"Notes on the Revolt," C. Raikes, p. 70.

² "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 100.

Lord Roberts writes: "Our questions as to what had become of the enemy who we had been informed had disappeared with such unaccountable celerity on hearing of the advance of the column, were answered by assurances that there was no need to concern ourselves about them, as they had fled across the *Kari Naddi*, a river thirteen miles away, and were in full retreat towards Gwalior."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 270.

No sight of an enemy, and the Brigadier, accepting the statements of the responsible authorities that they were on their way to Gwalior, neglected to post picquets,¹ and, accompanied by some officers, went to the fort to breakfast.²

The camp was marked out, the horses were picqueted, and a few tents pitched. Europeans flocked forth from the fort to hear news of the outside world, crowds of natives to see the white soldiers who had taken Delhi. The men were tired after their long march of fifty miles in thirty hours, and after breakfast they threw themselves on the ground and fell asleep. Their slumber was roughly broken. A round shot came crashing through the mess tent. "All were instantly on the alert; the conduct of our troops was beyond praise; that stern discipline, which war alone teaches, stood us in good stead." A shower of round shot from a battery of twelve guns, however, sent the visitors and camp-followers flying towards the fort in one wild mass. The heavy baggage of the column on its way to the camp met this big stampede. Seldom was there seen such a confusion. Instantly elephants, camels, led horses, doolie-bearers carrying the sick and wounded, bullocks yoked to heavily-laden carts,

Action at
Agra, 10th
October.

¹ "We ought of course to have reconnoitred the surrounding country for ourselves, and posted our picquets as usual; and we ought not to have been induced to neglect these essential military precautions by the confident assertion of the Agra authorities that the enemy were nowhere in our neighbourhood." — "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 272.

² "The artillerymen had obtained permission to lie down in a house hard by." — "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 100.

were swept into that immense torrent.¹ Officers hurrying from the fort plunged wildly into it, but could not stem it. By dint of shouts and blows they pressed their way through the surging multitude and issued on the fight. Hand-to-hand contests were going on. "Here a couple of cavalry soldiers were charging each other. There the game of bayonet *versus* sword was being carried on in real earnest."² The 75th in shirt-sleeves were forming square to withstand a charge of the rebel horse. The artillerymen without their accoutrements had rushed to the guns and from the park opened fire, but the distance was too great to silence the enemy's guns, which were of heavy metal. When Greathed galloped to the front he found the artillery already in action and the 9th Lancers in their saddles formed up in squadrons. "I moved," wrote Greathed, "with her Majesty's 8th, . . . and the 4th Punjab Infantry (taking with me on the way the three squadrons of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab Cavalry) to the right with the view of outflanking and capturing the guns on that flank." He also extended the infantry along the road leading from the parade-ground to the infantry barracks in skirmishing order with supports, with directions to advance to their front and clear the compounds of the enemy's infantry. "By this time," Greathed adds, "the Agra 9-pounder battery came up, and I advanced it in support of the right

¹ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 273.

² *Ibid.*, p. 274.

flank of the infantry, on the road leading from the artillery parade-ground, and the enclosures were speedily cleared. In doing this the 4th Punjab Infantry distinguished itself.¹ Shortly after the enemy's fire had opened, Watson, Probyn, and Younghusband with their three squadrons moved off towards the European barracks, Colonel Greathead informing them that beyond the barracks they would find open ground. "I perceived a favourable opportunity," says Watson in his report, "and swept down at a gallop on their flank." Two guns and some standards were captured in the charge.² After that the enemy made no stand.

On the left a large body of cavalry made a dash into camp, and were on the point of carrying off one of Blunt's guns, when a troop of the 9th

¹ "The lines when advancing were joined by Pearson's 9-pounder battery which had been despatched from the fort on the first arrival of Greathead's column. . . . He now arrived at an opportune moment on the right of the lines where there was no artillery, and where the infantry were giving ground under the fire of some heavy guns of the enemy which commanded the road along which their centre was advancing. As Pearson pressed forward the limbers of three of these were blown up and captured."—"History of the Indian Mutiny," Kaye and Mangleson, vol. iv. p. 72. Colonel Bourchier, however, writes: "The practice of Captain Remington's troop was particularly effective: three ammunition waggons were exploded by his shot."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 103.

² "Probyn greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. In one of the charges he got separated from his men, and was for a time surrounded by the enemy, two of whom he slew. In another charge he captured a standard. For these and numerous acts of gallantry during the mutiny he was, to the great delight of his many friends in the column, awarded the Victoria Cross."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 276.

Lancers under Captain French broke in upon them and sent them flying. The gallant French was slain, and Jones, his subaltern, with twenty sabre cuts on his face, was left for dead on the ground. The enemy's horse were driven from the camp or destroyed in it. At the time when Watson smote them on the right flank Hugh Gough with his squadron did the same on the left. The enemy were now in full retreat, and a pursuit by the artillery and cavalry was immediately ordered. At this time Colonel Cotton arrived from the fort with the 3rd Europeans, and as senior officer assumed the command. He endorsed Greathed's order, and our troops followed the retreating foe.

"About four miles on the Gwalior Road, sheltered by the village, was the camp of the enemy. Apparently both divisions of our forces came within sight of it at the same time, and arrived at the same moment. Forming line, we together flew through its streets, driving the enemy before us."¹

Once again the rebels made a stand. A few rounds of grape sent them flying in all directions, and our cavalry dashed in among them and sabred them right and left. For seven miles the road was one continued line of carts, camels without their drivers, guns, ammunition waggons, and baggage of every description, all of which fell into the hands of the victors. Much that was useless was destroyed,

¹ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 104.

and the enemy's camp, with the villages on which it abutted, were burnt. Seldom was a victory more complete.

Darkness had fallen before our soldiers returned to their tents, "having marched sixty-six miles and fought a general action in thirty-nine hours: nine miles of the route had been done by the cavalry and artillery in a trot through high crops and ploughed fields."¹

The men and cattle being much in want of rest, the column halted at Agra the three days following the battle. The ammunition was filled up from the fort, and the wounded were sent into the hospital which had been established at the Moti Musjid, the beautiful Pearl Mosque. Here they were attended, not only by the medical officers, but also by the ladies, many of whom visited the wards daily, administering little comforts to the sick and dying. "It was indeed a touching sight to see our fair countrywomen, many of whom were themselves bowed down by affliction, seated by the bedside of the wounded soldiers."

On the morning of the 14th of October the column marched out of Agra and encamped at a garden called the Rambagh, where it was reinforced by two siege-guns and detachments of her Majesty's 8th and 75th Regiments. The following day brought it to a ruined tomb called the Old Woman's Tank (Boorya-ka-Talao), and on the 16th it reached Ferozabad, where Hope Grant, Colonel of the 9th

14th
October.
The
column
leaves
Agra.

¹ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 105.

16th
October.
Hope
Grant
assumes
command
of the
column.

Skirmish
at Kanouj.

Lancers, joined it and took over the command.¹ On the 19th the civil station of Mynpuree was reached. The Rajah of the place, who had thrown off the British allegiance, fled at the approach of our troops, leaving the official treasure, amounting to about two lacs, in full tale in the fort. On the 21st October Bewar, the junction of the roads from Meerut, Agra, Futtéhgurh, and Cawnpore, was reached. Here Hope Grant received a tiny missive from Sir James Outram, written in Greek characters, begging that aid might be sent as soon as possible, as provisions were running short. The next day the column made a march of twenty-eight miles, and on the morning of the 23rd arrived close to the ruined Hindu city of Kanouj. While the Quartermaster-General with his staff were reconnoitring close to the town, situated on the banks of a stream, they were fired upon from a battery upon the opposite side, supported by about 500 infantry,² all hard at work trying to get the guns across the river.³ On hearing the report of the firing the Brigadier at once sent down two horse-artillery guns and a squadron

¹ "He had remained at Delhi when superseded by Greathed, and being naturally indignant at the treatment he had received, he protested against it, and succeeded in getting the order appointing Greathed to the command cancelled."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 287.

² "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 110.

³ Lord Roberts writes: "The same day I went on as usual with a small escort to reconnoitre, and had passed through the town, when I was fired upon by a party of rebels, consisting of some 300 cavalry, 500 infantry, and four guns, who having heard of the approach of the column, were trying to get away before it arrived."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 291.

of dragoons to the scene of action. Lieutenant Murray, who commanded, galloped down to the banks of the river, formed battery at the water's edge, and soon silenced the enemy on the opposite bank. The infantry fled, pursued by the dragoons and some Punjab cavalry.¹ "On we fled," writes Lord Roberts, "Probyn's and Watson's squadrons leading the way in parallel lines about a mile apart. I was with the latter, and we had a running fight till we reached the Ganges, into which plunged those of the *sowars* whom we had not been able to overtake. We reined up, and saw the unlucky fugitives struggling in the water, men and horses rolling over each other: they were gradually carried down by the swiftly running stream, and a very few reached the opposite bank."²

On the 26th of October the column reached Cawnpore, and furnished to the infantry force which the Commander-in-Chief was hurrying up from Calcutta, not only two British battalions and two Punjab infantry regiments, who had proved their pluck and endurance on the ridge at Delhi, but also a regiment of British Lancers (9th Lancers), who had shown their worth in many a gallant

26th
October.
The
column
reaches
Cawnpore.

¹ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel Bourchier, C.B., p. 117.

² "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 21.

"Our casualties were trifling, only some half-dozen men wounded, while my horse got a gash on her quarter from the sabre. Watson had the forefinger of his right hand badly cut in the encounter with a young *sowar*. I chaffed him at allowing himself to be nearly cut down by a mere boy, upon which he laughed and briefly retorted, 'Well, boy or not, he was bigger than you.'"

charge, and four squadrons of native cavalry of five different regiments, "each led by a young officer, whose name even then was becoming well known as a *sabreur* of distinction."¹ Sixteen horsed guns, complete and manned by the famous Bengal artillery-men, and an effective transport, made the column the nucleus of a small but efficient army capable of winning battles and also of following them up.² The day after the arrival of the column at Cawnpore news reached Hope Grant that the Commander-in-Chief was to leave Calcutta that evening to take command of the forces by which he intended to attempt the deliverance of Lucknow. He was also ordered to get into communication with the Alum Bagh to relieve them of their sick and wounded and send them back to Cawnpore.

27th
October.

30th
October.
Hope
Grant
crosses the
Ganges in-
to Oudh.

On the 30th of October Hope Grant, reinforced by four companies of the 93rd Highlanders and some infantry detachments, crossed the Ganges into Oudh. On the 31st of October Bunnee bridge, more than half-way to the Alum Bagh, was reached, where a telegram was received that Colin Campbell had arrived at Cawnpore. On the 2nd November, changing ground from Bunnee bridge to Buntera, a village about six miles from Alum Bagh, an advanced party of the enemy was met, and after a running fight of some hours they were defeated and a brass gun captured. The casualties of Sir Hope Grant's

¹ "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B., p. 11.

² "Lord Clyde's Campaign in India," "Blackwood's Magazine," October 1858.

force amounted to about thirty. On the 6th of November a force of all arms was sent to the Alum Bagh and brought away the sick and wounded, who were sent under a strong escort to Cawnpore. As Sir Hope Grant was strictly enjoined not to commit himself to any serious operation till the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, he remained in pursuance of these orders at Buntera for the advent of the Chief.

CHAPTER XXXI

Colin
Campbell.

Obtains
his first
commission in
the 2nd
Battalion,
9th Regi-
ment, 26th
May 1808.

Vimiera
his first
battle.

Takes part
in Sir
John
Moore's
operations.

COLIN CAMPBELL, the Commander-in-Chief, who had hastened from Calcutta to command the force formed for the relief of Havelock and Outram, was the son of a working carpenter in Glasgow. His patronymic was Macliver, but his mother was Agnes Campbell, a daughter of a family of better estate, and by an accident he came to assume his mother's surname. At the age of fifteen his maternal uncle, Colonel John Campbell, obtained for him a commission in the 2nd Battalion, 9th Regiment. When the Colonel took his nephew to wait on the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, the Duke supposed the boy was a Campbell, "another of the clan," and as a Campbell he was gazetted and ever afterwards known. Five weeks from the date of his first commission (26th of May 1808) he was gazetted to a lieutenancy, and in three months he had taken part in his first battle, the battle of Vimiera. This battle resulted in Marshal Junot's retreat and the famous convention of Cintra. In the following winter Colin Campbell was transferred to the 1st Battalion of his regiment, and took part in Sir John Moore's operations ending in the retreat of Corunna. A few months after its return to England he went with his battalion on the Walcheren expedition, and after serving a short



GENERAL SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B. (LORD CLYDE).

time in Holland he returned to the Peninsula, was present at the severe engagement of Barrosa, and received the commendation of his chief. The year 1812 was passed in the performance of regimental duty at Gibraltar, but in January 1813 he was sent with a draft of the 2nd Battalion to join the 1st Battalion in Portugal under the command of his original chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron. He was present at Vittoria, and every student of Napier's "History of the War in the Peninsula" knows how Colin Campbell distinguished himself at San Sebastian. The first and unsuccessful assault upon this fortress was delivered on the night of the 24th July 1813. It was a grave error, and a violation of the orders of Lord Wellington, to make the attack by night. The force employed in the assault was composed of the 3rd Battalion of the Royals, the 38th, and the 9th Regiments. The darkness, the narrowness and the difficulty of the ground to be traversed before the breach was reached, the insufficient destruction of the defences, all contributed to the failure of the attack. The troops reached the breach straggling and without order, and were there met with so destructive a fire that they recoiled, and notwithstanding the heroic courage of many officers who endeavoured to rally them they failed to effect a lodgment. Napier writes: "It was in vain that Lieutenant Campbell, breaking through the tumultuous crowd with the survivors of his chosen detachment, mounted the ruins; twice he ascended, twice he was wounded, and all around him died." The three regiments

The
Walcheren
expedition
and battle
of Barrosa,
1812.

1813,
return to
Portugal.

got intermixed, and after shells and musketry had thinned their numbers the trenches were regained in confusion. The terrible night's work is represented in Colin Campbell's journal by the single word "Storm." On his division marching away, Colin Campbell, whose wounds were still unhealed, was left behind at San Sebastian. However, on hearing of the likelihood of an engagement with the enemy, he left San Sebastian, accompanied by a brother officer who had also been wounded, and, like himself, not discharged from hospital. By dint of crawling and an occasional lift in a casual waggon, he reached the 5th Division, and was with his regiment when it played a leading part in the passage of the Bidassoa and the attack upon the heights beyond it. At a critical moment of that day Colonel Cameron arrived with the 9th Regiment and led it to the summit of the first height. The French retired to a second ridge. Napier writes: "Cameron threw his men into a single column and bore against this new position, which, curving inwards, enabled the French to pour a concentrated fire upon his regiment; nor did his violent course seem to dismay them until he was within ten yards, when, appalled by the furious shout and charge of the 9th, they gave way, and the ridges were won." In this memorable operation Colin Campbell received his third severe wound; and also a severe reprimand from Colonel Cameron for the breach of discipline he had committed in leaving hospital before being discharged.

Passage
of the
Bidassoa.

On the 9th of November 1813, Colin Campbell

was promoted to a company, without purchase, in the 60th Regiment, and in December he returned to England. In 1814 he found his battalion in America, but had to return to England in a few months on account of the suffering caused by his wounds. On reaching home he took sick leave and visited Paris, which was then occupied by the Allies. On the expiration of his leave he rejoined his regiment at Gibraltar, where he remained three years. The reduction of his battalion of the 60th caused him to be transferred to the 21st, and in 1819 he joined them at the Barbadoes. The next seven years were passed by him in the West Indies. The climate tried his constitution severely. In 1825 he, however, managed, by the generous assistance of a friend, to purchase his majority, and returned home to the depot. The next six years were spent in England and Ireland performing the ordinary duties of his profession. In 1832 he was promoted to an unattached Lieutenant-Colonelcy by purchase,—“Thus,” to use his own words, “making a full period of nearly twenty-five years on full pay, viz., upwards of five years as a subaltern, nearly thirteen as a Captain, and seven as a Major.” For the next four years there was little for him to do, but he was of far too energetic a temperament to be idle. He was present at the siege of Antwerp, and sent home an interesting report : he resided in Germany for some time, and studied the language and all the leading works relating to the art of war.

On the 8th of May 1836 Colonel Campbell returned to the active work of his profession, having

9th Nov.
ember
1813, Cap-
tain, 60th
Regiment.

Trans-
ferred to
the 21st.

1825,
Major.

1832,
promoted
to an un-
attached
Lieut.-
Colonelcy.

been gazetted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of "the gallant and good old 9th Regiment," for which he had received his first commission. He was, however, immediately afterwards transferred to the 98th. Having attained the command of a regiment he quickly showed how good an officer he was. He had a fellow-feeling with his soldiers and they with him. He set great store by discipline; and that he brought his regiment into the highest state of efficiency we have the testimony of one of England's greatest soldiers. When new colours were presented to the 98th, Sir Charles Napier said: "Of the abilities for command which your chief possesses your own magnificent regiment is a proof. Of his gallantry in action hear what history says, for I like to read to you of such deeds and such men. It stimulates young soldiers to deeds of similar daring." Taking his brother's history, Sir Charles Napier then read the account of Colin Campbell's

20th
December
1841, 98th
embarks
or China.

attempt to mount the breach of San Sebastian. In 1841 the gallant 98th embarked for China, and its commanding officer, then fifty years of age, had the first opportunity of showing his great qualities as a commander of men in the field of action. The campaign in China won him a full colonelcy and the insignia of a Military Companion of the Bath. He was appointed Brigadier in command of the Chusan garrison, and the next four years were spent in professional work, in studying professional literature, Shakspere, and the Scotch poets. The veteran who for more than fifty years served against England's enemies in every clime was a man of

considerable culture, and applied a strong and highly cultivated intellect to the business of war.

In the year 1846 Colonel Campbell's regiment landed in the country with whose history he will be best remembered, and he was given the command of the garrison at Lahore. The reputation he won at China was enhanced in the second Sikh war. He played a prominent part in the doubtful victory of Chillianwalla, and received a sword-cut from an artilleryman of the enemy in charging some of their guns. He wrote to his sister on the 30th of January 1849 : "The fighting on the 13th was very severe. The enemy were strong in numbers and in guns, and in a favourable position. The troops I conducted myself were in a very critical position during the greater part of the battle ; but they managed, by boldness and determined gallantry, to overthrow everything opposed to them : I should say her Majesty's 61st Regiment, which I led myself—for it was that corps which carried and overcame every difficulty. I had many miraculous escapes, for which I am duly thankful. The handle of my watch was broken by a ball. I had a pocket pistol in my right waistcoat-pocket, which was broken to pieces by a ball, and my horse was wounded in the mouth. I got the sword-cut from an artilleryman of the enemy in charging some of their guns ; but here I am, thank God, safe and sound and quite well."¹ Colin Campbell was present at the crowning victory of Gujerat, and by a skilful use of the

Wounded
at Chil-
ianwalla,
13th
January.

¹ "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. i p. 203.

21st
February
1841.
Gujarat.

Appointed
to com-
mand the
Peshawar
Division.

Appointed
to com-
mand the
Highland
Brigade.
Gazetted
Major-
General,
10th July
1854.

Battle of
the Alma.

artillery saved the unnecessary slaughter which unfortunately marked the previous battle. For his services in the Sikh campaign he was promoted to be a Knight Commander of the Bath, and after the war was over he was appointed to command the Peshawar Division. In the years 1851-52 he was engaged against the hill tribes beyond the Indus, and when he had beaten them in fight, he proved that he could be merciful as well as brave. He objected to laying waste fertile lands and burning villages for the crimes of one or two. As a soldier he also objected to the interference of civilians in military matters. This led to a disagreement with Lord Dalhousie, and Brigadier Campbell resigned. The great Viceroy attributed to him "over-cautious reluctance," but subsequent years have proved how sound his judgment was with regard to the danger of operating against brave tribes in the mountains with a badly-equipped and insufficient force. He returned to England in 1853 and went on half pay, but was not long unemployed, for in 1854, when the Crimean war broke out, he was appointed to the command of the Highland Brigade, consisting of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Regiments. On the 10th of July he was gazetted a major-general, after a service of forty-six years and one month. In the last days of August the Highland Brigade embarked at Varna. On the 20th of September they fought the battle of the Alma. To Colin Campbell's advice the historian of the Crimean War ascribes the decisive advance of the 1st Division at the Alma. "It was a fight of the Highland

Brigade," wrote Colin Campbell to an old comrade. "I never saw troops march to battle with greater *sang-froid* and order than those three Highland regiments." When the combat was over, Lord Raglan rode up and sent for Colin Campbell. "When I approached him I observed his eyes to fill and his lips and countenance to quiver. He gave me a cordial shake of the hand, but he could not speak. The men cheered very much. I told them I was going to ask the Commander-in-Chief a great favour, that he would permit me to have the honour of wearing the Highland bonnet during the rest of the campaign, which pleased them very much." After the battle of the Alma Sir Colin was placed in charge of the position at Balaclava. It Balaclava. was there with the "thin red streak topped with a line of steel" that he gallantly repulsed a memorable charge of Russian cavalry. The fate of the day hung upon the steadiness of his men. "Remember," said Colin Campbell, "there is no retreat from here, men. You must die where you stand." "Ay, Sir Colin, we'll do that," was the spontaneous reply. The squadron bore down upon them, they became eager for the fray, and showed a disposition to burst forth and to meet them with the bayonet. Then Colin Campbell's voice rang out fiercely, "Ninety-third, Ninety-third, damn all that eagerness!" In a moment the line became steady, and at the right moment poured upon the advancing column a deadly volley.

On the death of Lord Raglan, it was generally expected that the command of the army would be

given to the man whose ability as a soldier was conspicuous, and who had gained experience and reputation in war, but it was bestowed on one who had the merits of mediocrity and seniority. Colin Campbell hoped that his division would play a prominent part at the final assault of Sebastopol ; but, to his bitter disappointment, it only acted as a reserve to the troops employed. On the eve of the assault General Simpson offered him the command at Malta, which he rightly regarded as an insult and an attempt to remove him from the service. After the resignation of General Simpson the command of the army was given to Sir William Codrington, who was Sir Colin's junior, and who had seen no service previous to the battle of the Alma. Sir Colin, who was in England, called on the Commander-in-Chief and told him that he had come to resign on account of the proposal that had been made that he should go from duty with a division in the field to become schoolmaster to the recruits at Malta. An interview with the Queen, however, dispelled all angry feelings from his mind, and he expressed to her gracious Majesty his readiness to return to the Crimea, and "to serve under a corporal if she wished." He returned, but his stay was of short duration, for peace was proclaimed, and he took farewell of the Highland Brigade in a short manly speech. "A long farewell. I am now old, and shall not be called to serve any more, and nothing will remain to me but the memory of my campaigns, and of the enduring, hardy, generous soldiers with whom I have been long associated,

whose names and glory will long be kept alive in the hearts of our countrymen." He little thought that before two years would elapse these same Highland regiments would form part of an army with which he was to reconquer England's great empire.

CHAPTER XXXII

Leaves
England
to assume
command
of the
Indian
Army,
11th July
1857.

13th
August,
arrives at
Calcutta.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL was sixty-five years of age when he left England to assume command of the troops which had been gathered together to suppress the mutiny, but in force and energy he was a young man. He received the offer of the command on the 11th July 1857, started the next day, and reached Calcutta on the 13th of August. "Last Monday" (August 13th), writes Lady Canning, "we had a very great surprise when the mail steamer telegraphed that Sir Colin Campbell was on board as Commander-in-Chief. . . . We found him very amiable and cheerful, an endless talker and *racconteur*.¹ He will be sure to fight well, but when will he have the opportunity? The 14,000 men from England will not arrive for long, and there is no sufficient force here for him to take the field. Only detachments and reinforcements go up now." On

¹ Lady Canning, describing a drive to Barrackpore, writes: "September 26th. Sir Colin talked all the way, telling no end of military stories. When he grows very indignant he pulls off his little cap, and scratches his head violently, leaving his hair standing bolt upright, exactly like his portrait in 'Punch.'" That forenoon news reached them, "Delhi has fallen." Lady Canning writes: "As the elephants were at the door long before the carriage, we got upon them for a ride to the park gate. 'Punch' would have made a nice vignette of Sir Colin with me in a howdah on the top of an elephant talking over our great news in the greatest delight."—"The Story of Two Noble Lives," p. 312.

the 17th of August Sir Colin assumed command of the Indian Army. He did not proceed up-country at once, and this action of his was severely criticised at the time. But the delay was due to causes beyond his control. Before his arrival no preparation had been made for the equipment of the troops which were expected, or for their transport to the seat of war. His presence at Calcutta was necessary in order to organise the administrative departments, on whose efficiency the success of a campaign so greatly depends. He caused horses to be purchased for the cavalry and artillery, ordered guns to be cast, bullets to be moulded, and tents to be made.¹ He infused his own energy into all around him; and in October, when reinforcements arrived, he was able to despatch them at once to the seat of war, he following immediately afterwards.

17th
August,
Sir Colin
Campbell
assumes
command
of the
Indian
Army.

¹ In a letter written early in October Sir Colin sets forth the reasons of his detention at Calcutta. "We are sending forward the men by bullock-train, which takes up about 90 daily. The men take their knapsacks and blankets with them; ammunition, 60 in pouch, and a reserve of 100 rounds. They travel day and night, halting only for two or three hours in the middle of the day at the staging bungalows on the road. Bedding I hope to find for them at Allahabad. But we are deficient in everything. Carriage and the supply of food collected there is very, very scanty. But were I to enter into anything like such details as would enable you to form a correct idea of the starved state of everything necessary to prepare and fit a force for the field, it would take up more time than I have at my disposal just now. When I can manage to have a couple of regiments at Allahabad disposable for field service, irrespective of the garrison of the fort, I join them instantly. Here I am of use in pushing forward everything wanted in front—men, horses—very few of the latter—food, ammunition, &c. I have infused a little vivacity into the Quartermaster-General's Department at Calcutta since my arrival."—"Life of Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. i. p. 436.

On the night of the 27th of October Sir Colin left Calcutta accompanied by his headquarters staff.¹ Below Benares he narrowly escaped capture by a body of mutineers. "As he and his party were posting along in their dâk carriages, they saw them across the road about five hundred yards distant. We counted twenty elephants with the mutineers. It was the narrowest escape for Sir Colin possible." On the 1st of November Allahabad was reached. Here he received news that Outram was prepared, if absolutely necessary, to hold out on further reduced rations till near the end of November. The following morning Sir Colin arrived at Futtehpore. On his way there he got a despatch from Captain Peel informing the Governor-General that a body consisting of 162 men of her Majesty's 53rd Regiment under Major Clarke, 68 of the Royal Engineers under Captain Clerke, 70 of a depot detachment under Lieutenant Fanning of her Majesty's 64th Regiment, a company of the 93rd Highlanders, 100 in number, under Captain Cornwall,

¹ Lady Canning enters in her diary : "Tuesday, October 27th. Sir Colin started after an early dinner. He goes up as fast as possible by dâk carriage from the railway. He takes his four Aides-de-Camp, the two Alisons, Sir David Baird, Captain Foster, Captain Metcalf, General Mansfield, and Captain Hope-Johnstone, and I believe they have got a doctor. The Superintendent of Telegraphs, Patrick Stewart, goes to lay down a flying line to Lucknow if possible. We begged them all to take care of Sir Colin, who has the habit of exposing himself very rashly. He has a nice set of what he calls 'boys,' who are very fond of him : that he storms at them sometimes they all allow. To me he has behaved like an old cavalier, and I have thought him charming. He would tell me everything, and show me every letter and telegraph I could care to see or that would interest me."— "The Story of Two Noble Lives," vol. ii. p. 332.

two 9-pounder guns under Lieutenant Anderson, Bengal Artillery, and 103 of the Naval Brigade under Captain Peel, had defeated at Khujwa, twenty miles to the left, a considerable rebel force who were threatening to cut our lines. Our loss in the action was very severe, amounting to 95 killed and wounded. Among the killed was the gallant Colonel Powell in command of the force, who fell dead with a bullet through his forehead as he pressed on the attack and had just secured two guns of the enemy. Sir Colin in forwarding the despatch to the Governor-General remarked : "Success crowned the desperate efforts of the assailants, but it is evident from the very lucid report of Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., that the attack was most hazardous, and that at one time the force was in the greatest danger." After criticising the disposition of the force his Excellency gladly bore "testimony to the brilliant courage and the untiring energy displayed by all ranks in conflict with the enemy, and in the great efforts made to come up with him. This fight affords one more instance of what the British soldier will perform in spite of every disadvantage and extraordinary fatigue. This was a soldier's fight if ever there was one."¹

Action at
Khujwa.

On the morning of the 3rd of November Sir Colin arrived at Cawnpore. He found the position full of danger. Oudh was filled with rebels, and the trained soldiers of the Gwalior Contingent, only fifty-five miles away, threatened his communications. Even Outram considered that these rebels

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 323.

should first be destroyed. He wrote: "We can manage to screw on till near the end of November on further reduced rations. . . . It is so obviously to the advantage of the State that the Gwalior rebels should be first effectually destroyed that our relief should be a secondary consideration." But Sir Colin considered the relief of the Residency to be all important. There lay before him a choice of evils. On the 8th of November he wrote to the Duke of Cambridge: "All accounts from Lucknow show that Sir James Outram is in great straits. The whole country has arisen around him, and the most trifling supplies cannot be obtained from the country for Brigadier Grant's force which is encamped about ten miles from the Alum Bagh. I mention the latter fact to show more exactly how the case stands. I move myself with a month's supply for all hands, fighting men and followers. On the other side, our communications are threatened by the Gwalior force, numbering 5000 men, with sixteen heavy guns, twenty-four field-guns, and an immense store of ammunition. The Nana Sahib crossed the Ganges yesterday; his followers, together with the *débris* of regiments which have gathered from various parts, are, as it appears, bound for Calpee, and will swell the Gwalior body to about 10,000 men."¹ Lucknow was fifty-three miles from Cawnpore on one side, Calpee was forty miles from it on the other. At Calpee one of the most highly-organised and best-drilled forces in

¹ "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. i. p. 450.

India had the broad Jumna between them and Colin Campbell. They also had possession of the boats. They could avoid coming to action for an indefinite time. Meanwhile, as the Commander-in-Chief thought, "the deserted garrison" might fall from want of food. According to the principles which regulate all ordinary military operations, he should have secured his base and line of operation previous to his advance on Lucknow. But as the Duke of Wellington has observed : "If the world was to be governed by principles, nothing would be more easy than to conduct even the greatest of affairs ; but in all circumstances the duty of a wise man is to choose the lesser of any two difficulties which beset him." Sir Colin chose what he considered the lesser evil. Having as far as it lay in his power provided for the communications and the safety of the scattered parties, he determined to leave Windham with a detachment to defend the intrenchment at Cawnpore, and trusting to the valour of his small but devoted band, to make a dash at Lucknow, rescue the garrison, and swiftly returning, save Windham from any danger that threatened him. He who has been blamed for over-caution proved that when it was necessary he was capable of undertaking a considerable risk and performing a brilliant feat of arms.

On the 6th and 8th of November memoranda were issued¹ by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of General Windham. "He is ordered," wrote Sir Colin to the Duke of Cambridge, "in

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. pp. 411-412.

case of an advance upon Cawnpore to show the best front he can, but not to move out to attack unless he is compelled by the threat of bombardment. His garrison will consist of 500 British soldiers, 550 Madras infantry and gunners, and if he is severely threatened—of which, of course, I shall have instruction—he will be further strengthened by some of the detachments which will be in the course of arrival during the week.” During his stay at Cawnpore Sir Colin pressed forward the various detachments and stores, as they arrived, to the camp at Buntera. By the most strenuous exertions a small siege-train, principally manned by the sailors of Peel’s Naval Brigade, had been got up and a diminutive engineer park collected. Having arranged for the despatch onwards of ordnance and engineer parks, commissariat and medical stores, the Commander-in-Chief, early on the morning of the 9th, left Cawnpore, escorted by a detachment of cavalry and horse artillery left behind by Hope Grant, and reached the camp at Buntera that evening after a forced march of thirty-five miles. The following morning Mr Kavanagh, dressed and disguised as a native, arrived in camp. He had left the Residency the previous night to act as guide to Colin Campbell.

Thomas
Kavanagh.

Thomas Henry Kavanagh was the son of a British soldier, and his great physical strength and iron nerve well adapted him for his father’s noble profession. The Fates designed that at an early age he should become a clerk in a Government office. The hour of battle, however, brought

forth his hereditary military spirit, and he proved his courage in several sorties which he accompanied in his capacity as Assistant Field Engineer. He was with Colonel Napier when he went out to bring in the wounded, and proved of great service to him in guiding him through the palaces which lined the river. As an Engineer he saw the plans which were being made by direction of Sir James Outram to guide the Commander-in-Chief in his attempt to reach the Residency. Kavanagh felt a living guide would be better. He determined to make his way to his Excellency's camp. About 10 o'clock A.M. on the 9th instant he learnt that a spy had come in from Cawnpore, and that he was returning in the night as far as Alum Bagh with despatches to Sir Colin Campbell. He sought out the man and told him his desire to accompany him in disguise. "He hesitated a great deal at acting as my guide, but made no attempt to exaggerate the dangers of the road. He merely urged that there was more chance of detection by our going together, and proposed that we should take different roads and meet outside of the city, to which I objected." Kavanagh was not to be deterred. That afternoon he volunteered his services through his immediate chief, Colonel Napier. Napier pronounced the attempt impracticable, but being impressed by his earnestness took him to Outram. Outram frankly confessed that he thought it of the utmost importance that a European officer acquainted with the ground should guide the relieving force, but that the

impossibility of any European being able to pass through the city undetected deterred him from ordering any officer to go, or even seeking volunteers for such a duty.¹ He moreover considered the enterprise so hazardous that he did not consider himself justified in accepting Kavanagh's gallant offer, but the brave volunteer was so earnest in his entreaties that Outram consented to let him go. Kavanagh returned to his quarters. "I lay down on my bed with my back towards my wife, who was giving her children the poor dinner to which they were reduced, and endeavouring to silence their repeated requests for more. I dared not face her, for her keen eye and fond heart would have immediately detected that I was in deep thought and agitated. She called me to partake of a coarse cake, but, as I could no more have eaten it than have eaten herself, I pleaded fatigue and sleepiness, and begged to be let alone. Of all the trials I ever endured this was the worst. At six o'clock I kissed the family and left, pretending that I was for duty at the mines, and that I might be detained till late in the morning." He proceeded to a small room in the slaughter-yard, where he disguised himself as a *budmash* or swashbuckler, with sword and shield, native-made shoes, tight trousers, a yellow silk *koortah* (or jacket) over a tight-fitting white muslin shirt, "a yellow-coloured chintz sheet thrown round my shoulders, a cream-coloured turban, and a white waistband or kumurbund. My face down

¹ "How I won the Victoria Cross," by T. Henry Kavanagh, p. 80.

to the shoulders, and my hands to the wrists, were coloured with lamp-black, the cork used being dipped in oil to cause the colour to adhere a little." Thus attired he entered Napier's room, and his chief did not recognise him. Outram himself daubed him once more, and he and Napier warmly pressed his hand as they wished him God-speed. Then at half-past eight, accompanied by Kananji Lal, the scout, Kavanagh passed through the British lines and reached the right bank of the Goomtee. "I descended naked to the stream, with the clothes on my head rolled into a bundle. The first plunge into the lines of the enemy, and the cold water, chilled my courage immensely, and if the guide had been within my reach I should, perhaps, have pulled him back, and given up the enterprise."¹ On the other side in a grove of low trees they re-dressed and went up the left bank until they reached the iron bridge. Here they were stopped and called over by a native officer who was seated in an upper-storied house. "My guide advanced to the light and I stayed a little in the shade." After hearing that they had come from the old cantonment, and were going into the city to their homes, he let them proceed. And they went on again till they reached the stone bridge by which they crossed the Goomtee and entered the principal street of Lucknow, which fortunately was not so brightly lighted as before

¹ "How I won the Victoria Cross," by T. Henry Kavanagh, p. 84.
The writer remembers the thrill of excitement with which when a lad he heard Mr Kavanagh relate his plunge into the river.

the siege, nor was it so crowded. "I jostled against several armed men in the street without being spoken to, and only met one guard of seven sepoys who were amusing themselves with women of pleasure." They threaded their way through the heart of the city to the open country on the farther side. "I was in great spirits when we reached the green fields, into which I had not been for five months; everything around us smelt sweet, and a carrot I took from the roadside was the most delicious I had ever smelt." The next five miles' tramp was pleasant. Then they discovered that they had lost their way and were in the Dilkoosha Park, which was occupied by the enemy. "I went within twenty yards of two guns, to see what strength they were, and returned to the guide, who was in great alarm, and begged I would not distrust him because of the mistake, as it was caused by his anxiety to take me away from the picquets of the enemy." Kavanagh reassured the man by informing him such accidents were frequent even when there was no danger to be avoided. It was now about midnight. They endeavoured to persuade a cultivator who was watching his crop to show the way for a short distance, but he urged old age and lameness. Kavanagh peremptorily commanded him to accompany them. He ran off screaming and alarmed the dogs of the whole village, and the dogs made them beat a quick retreat to the canal, "in which I fell several times owing to my shoes being wet and slippery and my feet sore. The shoes were hard

and tight and had rubbed the skin off my toes, and cut into the flesh above the heels." Two hours afterwards they were again on the right track, two women in a village having kindly helped them to find it. They reached an advanced picquet of sepoys, who also told them the way after having asked them where they had come from and where they were going. By three o'clock they reached a grove and heard a man singing. "I thought he was a villager; but he got alarmed on hearing us approach, and astonished us by calling out a guard of sepoys, all of whom asked questions." Here was a terrible moment. "Kananji Lal lost heart for the first time and threw away the letter intrusted to him for Sir Colin Campbell. I kept mine safe in my turban. We satisfied the guard that we were poor men travelling to Umeenla, a village two miles this side of the Chief's camp, to inform a friend of the death of his brother by a shot from the British entrenchment at Lucknow, and they told us the road." After tramping for half an hour in the direction indicated they suddenly found themselves in a swamp. It was eerie work wading through it for two hours up to their waists in water and through weeds. "I was nearly exhausted on getting out of the water, having made great exertions to force our way through the weeds and to prevent the colour being washed off my face. It was nearly gone from my hands." Kavanagh, thoroughly worn out by cold and fatigue, rested for fifteen minutes despite the remonstrances of the guide. Then they again trudged forward and

came on two picquets, about three hundred yards asunder, seated with their heels to the fire. "I did not care to face them, and passed between the two flames unnoticed, for they had no sentries thrown out." A little later they met several villagers with their families and chattels mounted on buffaloes. They said they were flying for their lives from the English. As the moonlight was growing less they stopped at a corner of a mango grove, and Kavanagh, wearied in body and spirit by the night's work, lay down, in spite of Kananji Lal's entreaties, to sleep for an hour. He bade his companion to go into the grove to search for a guide. No sooner was Kavanagh left by the scout when he was startled by the challenge "Who comes there?" in a native accent. "We had reached a British cavalry outpost. My eyes filled with joyful tears, and I shook the Sikh officer in charge of the picquet heartily by the hand." The old soldier sent two of his troopers to guide Kavanagh to the advanced guard. The day was coming swiftly brighter when a strange looking creature presented himself before the tent of the Commander-in-Chief. "As I approached the door an elderly gentleman with a stern face came out, and, going up to him, I asked for Sir Colin Campbell." "I am Sir Colin Campbell" was the sharp reply, "and who are you?" "I pulled off my turban and opening the folds took out a short note of introduction from Sir James Outram." A most splendid feat of gallantry was done, and it proved a most invaluable service. Her Majesty conferred

upon Kavanagh the insignia of the Victoria Cross, and he was the first non-military man who ever obtained that highest honour.¹

With the information brought by Mr Kavanagh, and the despatch and plan sent by Outram, the Commander-in-Chief was enabled to finally determine his plan of operations. He had already worked it out with great care at Calcutta. He knew what a heavy loss of life Havelock's advance through the narrow and tortuous streets of Lucknow had entailed, and he therefore determined to give the city a wide berth. He would make a flank march across country to his own right upon the Dilkoosha Park. Then he would advance upon the Martinière and the line of the canal, and from that point move forward by the right as close as possible to the river, thereby securing that flank against onslaught, though not against fire.² He would seize the barracks and the Secunder Bagh from the open ground, then under cover of batteries to be opened on the Kaiser Bagh, the key of the enemy's position, carry the intermediate buildings, and, after effecting a junction with the Residency, withdraw the garrison. The route which Outram advised Sir Colin to follow agreed with his own as

¹ "The Government of India, bestowed on him a donation of Rs. 20,000, equal to several years' pay at the rate he was then drawing, and promoted him from a clerk to a civil office to be an Assistant Commissioner on Rs. 700 a-month, - great rewards, but certainly not more than were deserved."—"A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B.

² Ibid.

"Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. i. p. 454.

regards the direction of the advance by the Dilkoosha and the Martinière, but it differed in the method of approaching the Secunder Bagh. Outram recommended the canal bridge, or the canal a little below it, to be crossed, and a way made through the suburb to the road leading to the barracks and the Secunder Bagh, whereas Sir Colin preferred to keep the more open ground near the river, and thus avoid the contingency of committing his troops to a struggle in the streets of the suburbs.¹

No more difficult and delicate operation was ever planned by a commander. With a force of 4500 men of all arms he had to rescue Outram from the

¹ "Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. i. p. 454.

Sir Archibald Alison, who accompanied Lord Clyde to India as Military Secretary, writes as follows: "It is said to have been the Commander-in-Chief's original intention to have crossed the Goomtee, and move up its left bank opposite to the Residency—there established his heavy guns under cover of their fire, thrown a bridge, and then drawn off the garrison. But upon this being submitted to Sir James Outram, both he and his Chief Engineer had so earnestly dissuaded him from it, on the ground of local obstacles, that, yielding to their superior local knowledge, he had given it up, and determined to move by the right bank. An additional reason probably was also found in the great extent of country which the army must have gone over to reach the point originally intended, and the danger of leaving a fordless river in the rear."—"Blackwood's Magazine," October 1858, p. 49. "Outram's proposals were that the force should cross the canal by or near the bridge on the alignment of the Huzrungunge road, attack the old infantry barracks and the Begum's Palace, and then turn to the right for the Secundra Bagh. But Sir Colin, in reconnoitring on the 15th, came to the conclusion that this route was held in great strength by the enemy. He resolved, therefore, to cross the canal further north, near the river, and advance thence by the more open ground along the river-bank towards the Motee Mahul, where he expected Outram to sortie and meet him."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General M'Leod Innes, p. 256.

grasp of 60,000 trained soldiers occupying strong positions. He had to carry and hold these positions until he reached the post held by Outram's force. He had to do it, on account of the want of provisions, within a limited period. He had also to hold a succession of posts on the left so as to keep a clear road from the Residency to the open country. He had to bring away the sick and wounded women and children, evacuate the Residency, and withdraw his troops, first to the Martinière and Dilkoosha, and then to the Alum Bagh. He had to leave here a small body of men to threaten the enemy, and then proceed with all haste to Cawnpore to save Windham and his garrison. The chances were against him, the risk was immense. But the risk had to be run to save women and children, to rescue an Empire.

On the afternoon of the 11th Colin Campbell reviewed his small band, which was drawn up in quarter-distance columns in the centre of a vast brown plain surrounded by trees. The old Chief spake to each regiment with kindly words as he rode through the ranks of warriors. When he came to the 9th Lancers he extolled their gallant conduct throughout the war, and their splendid appearance—for with their blue uniforms and white turbans twisted round their forage caps, their flagless lances, lean but hardy horses, and gallant bearing, they looked the perfection of a cavalry regiment. Next to them were the horsemen recruited from the wild tribes that dwell on the northern marshes of the Empire. Mounted on

every variety of horse, with every variety of bit, bridle, and saddle, they seemed "a rabble," but they could not be excelled as light cavalry by any troops in the world. Colin Campbell made harangue to them, and said "he had heard what good service we had done at Delhi, and in the march down country, and complimented the native officers and men." He thanked the 8th and 75th, who had borne themselves so sturdily on the ridge at Delhi, and had stormed that city. He also spake words of praise to the 2nd and 4th Punjab Infantry, who too had borne themselves nobly at Delhi. He rejoiced to see the Bengal Artillery, for he had commanded them of yore in battle, and knew how well skilled they were. Then came he to the 93rd Highlanders. "A waving sea of plumes and tartans they looked as they walked up; with loud and rapturous cheers, which rolled over the field, they welcomed their veteran Commander, the Chief of their Clan." He stirred in them yearning to fight, by pointing to Lucknow, and telling them that men and women and children were to be saved. Thus the old Chief charged his little force. Orders were issued that evening for the advance on the following morning.

At the break of day the force set out. The advanced-guard had not proceeded far when it was attacked by two guns and a body of about 2000 infantry in position on our right, near the old fort of Jallalabad. After a smart skirmish Bourchier's battery silenced their guns. Lieutenant Gough,¹

¹ Now General Sir Hugh Gough, G.C.B., V.C.

commanding Hodson's Irregular Horse, had in the meantime made a long detour, and managed, under cover of some fields of cane, to arrive on the enemy's left flank unseen. An extensive swamp protected it. Through the long reedy grass the cavalry went at a trot. When clear of it Gough gave the word "Form line!" and "Charge!" "My men gave a ringing cheer and were into the masses. The surprise was complete, and owing to its suddenness they had no conception of our numbers; and so the shock to them and victory to us was as if it had been a whole brigade. It seemed like cutting one's way through a field of corn, and I had to make a lane for myself as I rode along. The men followed me splendidly, and in a very short time the affair was over,—the guns were captured, the enemy scattered, and the fight became a pursuit."¹ It was a fine exploit, and Hugh Gough was awarded the Victoria Cross.

The camp was pitched that evening a short distance in rear of the Alum Bagh out of range of artillery fire. Kavanagh having brought a code of signals from Outram, a semaphore was erected on the Alum Bagh and some communications were held with the Residency, where a similar semaphore had been erected.

The next morning Brigadier the Honourable

Lieut.
Gough's
gallant
charge.

Lieut.
Gough
awarded
the
Victoria
Cross.

¹ "Pall Mall Magazine," November 1896. "Old Memories," by General Sir Hugh Gough.

"Two or three staff officers had ridden round, seeing what was going on, and shared in the fight, among them Roberts, Anson, and I believe Captain Mayne (subsequently killed at the attack on the Dilkusha)."

13th
November,
force halts
at Alum
Bagh.

Adrian Hope of her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, who commanded a brigade, was ordered to seize the fort of Jallalabad, whose occupation by the enemy threatened our line of communication. He found it deserted, and by blowing up one of the walls rendered it indefensible. The day was spent by Colin Campbell in making final arrangements for the advance. All the tents were parked in the Alum Bagh and the garrison changed. The effective men of the British regiments with Sir James Outram were removed and formed into two small provisional detachments, and their place was taken by her Majesty's 75th,¹ "which had been so much harassed by its late exertions." They, with 50 men of the Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore and a detachment of Artillery, formed the entire garrison. In the afternoon Sir Colin pushed forward a strong reconnaissance towards the Char Bagh bridge and the left front in order to deceive the enemy as to his real line of advance. That evening, reinforcements having reached him during the day, and in anticipation of a few more arriving next morning, he took the last steps for the organisation of his force, and he issued his last orders. Divided into three nominal brigades of infantry and one of cavalry, with artillery, sailors, and engineers, the

¹ "The 75th was the first regiment to move down from the hills when the news of the outbreak at Meerut reached Headquarters : it had done grand service, had suffered heavily during the siege of Delhi, and had well earned, and badly needed, a rest. It was now only 300 strong, and had lost in six months nine officers, in action and from disease, besides twelve wounded."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 309.

force hardly numbered one strong brigade, not more than 4200 sabres and bayonets. The British Infantry, the pith and strength of battle, did not exceed 3000.¹

The infantry brigade, commanded by the Hon. Adrian Hope, was the strongest. It was composed of the 93rd Highlanders, 934 bayonets and 48 officers of all ranks, veterans who had shown the stuff they were made of in the Crimea; a wing of the 53rd Foot, hardy old soldiers, well acquainted with Indian battle and full of zeal and pluck; and the 4th Punjab Infantry, weak in numbers but proved soldiers of undaunted courage. The two other infantry brigades were not of the size of good regiments. The one commanded by Brigadier Greathed was composed of the 8th Foot and the 2nd Punjab Infantry, both good regiments, but weakened in numbers by hard fighting at Delhi, and a battalion of detachments. The third, commanded by Brigadier Russell, was composed of a wing of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, a regiment famous in our military annals but new to Indian warfare, and owing to its losses in the Crimea consisting mainly of young soldiers, and two companies of the 82nd Foot.

The artillery brigade, commanded by Brigadier Crawford, Royal Artillery, was composed of two companies of Garrison Royal Artillery under Captain Travers and Captain Longden, equipped with 18-

*The
Infantry
Brigade.*

¹ "Lord Clyde's Campaign in India," "Blackwood's Magazine," November 1858. Lord Roberts estimates the force to have amounted to about 600 cavalry and 3500 infantry, with about 42 guns.

pounder guns and mortars; Captains Remmington and Blunt's troops of the famous Bengal Horse Artillery; two very efficient guns of Madras Native Horse Artillery under Captain Bridge; Captain Middleton's Horse Battery of Royal Artillery, the first horsed guns of the Royal Regiment that ever engaged an enemy in India, and Captain Bourchier's Bengal Field Battery. The artillery of the army was augmented by the Naval Brigade, consisting of 250 seamen and marines of her Majesty's ship *Shannon*, who manned six 24-pounders and two howitzers with bullock draft, and two rocket tubes mounted on light carts: not only did they man these pieces, but their marines and a body of seamen armed with rifles formed a formidable escort of infantry.¹

Cavalry
Brigade.

The cavalry brigade, commanded by Brigadier Little, was composed of two squadrons, 9th Lancers, commanded by Major Audry, detachments of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab Cavalry and Hodson's Horse, commanded respectively by Lieutenants Watson, Probyn, Younghusband, and Gough. The cavalry was supplemented by a detachment of the military train commanded by Major Robertson, organised as two squadrons of cavalry.

Brigade of
Engineers.

The small brigade of Engineers, commanded by Lieutenant Lennox, Royal Engineers, comprised a splendid company of Royal Engineers, a company of Madras sappers, a few faithful Bengal sappers fresh

¹ "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B., p. 17.

from Delhi, and two companies of newly-raised pioneers.

The last arrangement made, the last order given, Colin Campbell wrote to his sister that night : “ My force is high and powerful in spirit and courage, but our numbers are not so many as may be desirable. Our friends in Lucknow have food only for five or six days, and the effort must be made to save them at any cost.”¹

¹ “The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde,” by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. p. 5.

CHAPTER XXXIII

14th Nov.
ember, the
force ad-
vances on
Lucknow.

AT break of day the ranking and arranging began ; but it was 9 A.M. before the main column, formed under Sir Colin's own eye, was under way. The country in front of it was a wide tract some miles square, well cultivated with cane and corn, and dotted with huge clumps of trees, bordered on the north by the canal, and flanked on the north-east by the Goomtee, which wound and twisted like an English stream. Nigh the river on a plateau was the Dilkoosha, a favourite country seat of the kings of Oudh, surrounded by a fine park, which would do credit to an English domain. Northwards, below the plateau, about half a mile away, lay the Martinière, whose mango woods stretch to the edge of the canal.¹ Both the Dilkoosha and Martinière

¹ The Martinière is a fantastic pile of buildings which the French adventurer, Claude Martin, erected as a residence for himself. Lord Valentia, who visited Lucknow in 1803, writes : "I went out to drive at Constantia, the residence of Claude Martin. It is a strange fantastical building of every species of architecture, and adorned with minute stucco fretwork, enormous red lions with lamps instead of eyes, Chinese Mandarins, and ladies with shaking heads, and all the gods and goddesses of the heathen mythology. It has a handsome effect at a distance from a lofty tower in the centre with four turrets ; but on a nearer approach the wretched taste of the ornaments only excites contempt. A more extraordinary combination of Gothic towers and Grecian pilasters I believe was never before devised. Within the hall is very fine, but the other apartments are small and gloomy, loaded with stucco work, painted yellow to imitate gilding. It is not yet finished, but by his will he has directed that it shall be completed according to



LA MARTINÈRE.

were highly defensible positions, and Colin Campbell determined they should be the base of his operations.

Advancing between the Alum Bagh and fort of Jallalabad, the main column struck across the plain nearly due east. Greathed with his infantry and guns facing the canal were left to guard its left rear, but they were to close up and form the rear when the main body came in touch with the enemy. For three miles no enemy was seen. They had expected that the advance would again be made by the Char Bagh, and were taken by surprise. It was hard work getting the heavy guns across the fields and rivulets, but the sailors and sappers overcame all difficulties. At length the leading troops reached the park wall, and were met by a long line of musketry fire. The advanced-guard was quickly reinforced by Captain Remmington's troop and No. 17 battery and more infantry composed of companies of the 5th Fusiliers, 64th Foot, and 78th Highlanders under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, with the 8th Foot in support. The cavalry and artillery pushing through an opening in the park wall and the infantry advancing, the enemy were quickly driven out of the Dilkoosha and over the crest of the plateau down to the Martinière

his plan. In a vault under the house he was, according to his will, buried, and a large plain slab, with the following inscription, marks his resting-place: 'Here lies Major-General Claude Martin, born at Lyons, 1735; arrived in India a common soldier, and died at Lucknow, the 13th December 1800. Pray for his soul.' His directions that his palace at Lucknow should never be sold, but should 'serve as a college for educating children and men in the English language and religion,' were carried out by the British Government."

below. On the cavalry and artillery reaching the brow of the slope, they were saluted with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry. Hardy of the Royal Artillery having quickly brought up a heavy howitzer, Remmington's Horse Artillery and Bourchier's battery vigorously replied. Under cover of their fire the infantry advanced, and bounding over the wall drove the rebels from the Martinière at the point of the bayonet. The cavalry went into them as they flew, and chased them till they plunged into the canal. Watson,¹ with the hot blood of youth, thundered entirely alone into their cavalry. A hand-to-hand contest ensued. He slew their leader, a fine native officer of the 15th Irregulars. Dreadfully beset by six troopers, he fought until Probyn, seeing his imminent danger, galloped forward with the two squadrons and rescued him from his assailants. For this "and gallantry on many other occasions," Watson received the Victoria Cross.

Lieut.
Watson
awarded
the
Victoria
Cross.

Dilkhoosha and
Martinière
occupied.

By noon the Dilkooasha and Martinière were both occupied. Brigadier Hope's brigade was then brought up and arranged in position in the wood of the Martinière at the end opposite the canal, being flanked to the left by Captain Bourchier's field battery and two of Captain Peel's heavy guns. Brigadier Little, with the cavalry and No. 17 battery, occupied the plain in front of the Mar-

¹ Now General Sir John Watson, V.C., K.C.B., Bombay Staff Corps. From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, dated Head-Quarters Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 339.

tinière, while beyond, in front of the Dilkoosha, was Russell's brigade. He was strictly commanded not to allow our left to be turned, for it would lead not only to our communication with Alum Bagh, but also our commissariat stores and ammunition (which were being brought up, covered by a strong rear-guard under Lieutenant - Colonel Ewart of her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders), being cut off. Russell, with the conception of a daring soldier, pushed forward several companies of infantry and seized two villages on the bank of the canal of the utmost strategic importance. They had not been long held when the enemy drew out and attacked our position between Banks' House and the villages, and from some groves on the opposite bank opened a heavy fire on them. Brigadier Little ordered an immediate advance of the centre. A few rounds from his guns sent the rebels back into the city. The cavalry having cleared the bed of the canal and the groves, the column returned to the Martinière, where they were ordered to bivouac during the night. No sooner, however, were the horses untraced than another and more vigorous attack was made on our position in front. "The force turned out like magic; Remmington was first upon the road and went well to the front, nearly up to the canal bridge, followed by the remainder of the artillery and cavalry. The infantry, as each successive column arrived on the plain, deployed along the banks of the canal, while the 53rd, 93rd, and 4th Punjab Infantry, attacked with vigour the main body of the enemy and drove them

back with slaughter, pursuing them beyond the canal.”¹

Lieut.
Mayne and
Captain
Wheat-
croft
killed.

Two very promising young officers lost their lives,—Lieutenant Mayne, Bengal Horse Artillery, who was shot through the breast, and Captain Wheatcroft, Carabineers, doing duty with her Majesty’s 9th Lancers,² whose chest was torn open by a carcass-shell.

The soldiers bivouacked on the ground with their arms beside them. Late at night the old Chief visited the field hospital, spoke a kindly word to each man, and gave an order that if necessary their wants should be supplied from his own private stores. Then he too, dearly

¹ “Eight Months’ Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys,” by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 136.

“On this occasion the 53rd, 93rd, and a body of the 4th Punjab Sikhs distinguished themselves.”—From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Hon’ble the Governor-General, dated Head - Quarters Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.—“State Papers,” vol. ii. p. 340.

² From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Hon’ble the Governor-General, dated Head-Quarters Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.—“State Papers,” vol. ii. p. 340. “At the conclusion of the fight I heard, with great grief, that my poor friend Mayne had been killed, shot through the breast a few seconds after he had left me. He was seen to turn his horse, and after going a short distance fall to the ground ; when picked up he was quite dead.”—“Forty-one Years in India,” by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 313.

“Not many hours before, six of us, Wheatcroft and Mayne being of the number, were sitting under a hedge ; a beautiful little bullock, chased by some soldiers, jumped into our circle. Wheatcroft caught him. It was unanimously voted that he should be kept for Christmas Day, Wheatcroft adding, at the time, ‘I wonder how many of us will be alive.’ Both were gallant officers, and deeply regretted.”—“Eight Months’ Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys,” by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 137.

loving a bivouac, slept in the open near his men.

Sir Colin Campbell had intended to make the great advance next day, but the provisions and ammunition had not arrived. All day the enemy had hung on the rear-guard, and Ewart having often to drive them back, did not close up to the column until late next morning, when every kind of baggage was stored in the Dilkoosha, which was held by her Majesty's 8th Foot, half the cavalry and five guns, placed under the command of Brigadier Little. About midday an attack upon the picquets posted in the low ground, by the river on our extreme right flank, was repulsed by the cavalry and horse artillery, two guns of the Madras native troop of horse artillery being prominently engaged. In the afternoon the Commander-in-Chief, in order to impress the enemy with the belief that no advance was contemplated in that direction, made a reconnaissance of the position opposite to our left. The artillery was massed on the left front, the picquets were withdrawn from the right, and orders issued that a constant fire of mortars should be kept up during the night on the Begum's palace and the barracks. Meanwhile Sir Colin satisfied himself that the ground on the right or near bank of the river was open and favourable for the advance of the column. In the evening he signalled from the Martinière, where he had caused a semaphore to be erected, to Outram and Havelock—"Advance to-morrow." When darkness fell a huge bonfire was lighted on the top of the

15th Nov.
ember.

plateau, salvos of balloon shells were discharged, and Peel's rocket cars¹ poured their deadly contents into the city.

Lieut.
Roberts
brings up
the reserve
ammuni-
tion.

Sir Colin had signalled to Outram that he would advance next morning. But he doubted if sufficient reserve of small-arm ammunition had been brought from the Alum Bagh for the hard work before the men on the morrow. He therefore sent for Lieutenant Roberts and ordered him to return with an escort to Alum Bagh and bring up the reserve rifle ammunition. He "desired that the Ordnance officer whose fault it was that sufficient ammunition had not been brought"² should go back with Roberts and be left at the Alum Bagh. At 9 A.M. Roberts started, accompanied by Younghusband, Hugh Gough, the Ordnance officer, two squadrons of cavalry, and 150 camels. The route chosen was the one by which the force had advanced, but after leaving the Dilkoosha they lost the track. Roberts produced a compass and by its aid they struck the right direction, "but that did not help us to clear the ravines, which, in our efforts to turn or get

¹ "Though on your own side, the very sight of the little car, with the mast slipt in its centre, makes your hair stand on end. Reader, if ever you see it coming near you (Peel will in all probability be whistling or telling some amusing anecdote—in fact, as much unconcerned as if going to an evening party), and you are trying to snooze off the effects of a hard day's work, quietly move off as far as possible : your rest is gone. A more diabolical apparatus for rousing an army from its repose was never invented ; but, abominable as is the disturbance they make, their effect, as Peel used them, must have been terrific in a crowded city."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 137.

² "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. pp. 318, 319.

through them, made our way appear interminable." ¹ At length the Alum Bagh was reached, the ammunition laden on the camels, and the party started on their return journey. " Day had dawned before we came in sight of Dilkoosha, and by the time I had made the ammunition over to the Ordnance officer it was broad daylight. As I rode up to the Martinière I could see old Sir Colin, only partially dressed, standing on the steps in evident anxiety at my non-arrival." ²

By 8 A.M., the soldiers having had their breakfast, the force was put in motion. A squadron of Hodson's Horse, with Blunt's troop of Bengal Horse Artillery and a company of the 53rd, led the way. Hope's and Russell's brigade followed : the ammunition and the Engineer Park came next, and Greathed's brigade brought up the rear.³ The force consisted of not above three thousand bayonets, while sixty thousand armed men, mostly trained soldiers, concentrated in a position of great strength, barred their way. But our soldiers were of England's best.

The column moving from our extreme right crossed without delay the canal, for it was almost dry, and the banks not being steep, presented little

¹ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. pp. 318, 319.

² *Ibid.*, p. 320.

³ "Greated's brigade (except the 8th Foot left at Dilkhuwa), like Bourchier's battery, remained to guard our left flank until midday, when it was ordered to follow the column and form the rear-guard." — *Ibid.*, p. 32.

"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 139.

difficulty to the passage even of heavy guns.¹ Then, clinging to the river-bank, the force marched through narrow tortuous lanes, or low thick plantations enclosed by mud walls, till it struck a cart track, which bending sharply to the left led through some gardens into a village. As the advanced-guard made the sharp turn, it was received by a heavy fire of musketry. Through an opening in the street could be seen on the right, within musketry range, the Secunder Bagh, or Alexander's Garden—a high walled enclosure about one hundred yards square, with bastions² at the angles, and carefully loopholed. From the front, from some enclosures on the right, from some houses on the left, the enemy

¹ "Expecting an attack from the Cawnpore side, the enemy committed a fatal error, having dammed up the canal and broken all the bridges between Banks' House and the Charbagh Bridge, leaving the portion near the Goomtee perfectly dry. The banks not being steep, presented little difficulty to the passage even of heavy guns."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 137.

² Colonel Bourchier, a most accurate writer, states: "The position consisted of a high walled enclosure of strong masonry, 120 yards square, carefully loopholed all round, flanked at the corners by circular bastions, and containing beside a double story of houses, producing a double line of fire. In the centre was a two-storied house, from which, and from the parapeted flat roof, a triple fire was kept up."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 139. Colonel Alexander, in "The Recollections of a Highland Subaltern," writes: "The Sikandarbagh was a large enclosure, about 150 yards square, flanked at the four corners by pentagonal bastions. These bastions were occupied by two or three little rooms, each 'giving' by separate doors on to the broad walk which ran along the wall all round the inside of the enclosure, and having flat roofs, with their concreted masonry parapets heightened, strengthened, and loopholed with sand-bags."—"Recollections of a Highland Subaltern," by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Gordon-Alexander, p. 77.

plied the advanced-guard with musketry. The cavalry could not advance on account of abattis and barricades. They could not retire, for the narrow lane with high banks was blocked with infantry and artillery. Great was the confusion. Sir Colin rode forward into the thick of the tumult, stormed, animated, and ordered. A gun from the advanced-guard was run on a bank and opened on the Secunder Bagh; the company of the 53rd, also an advanced-guard, was sent to line the enclosures on the right, and the cavalry by a clever move were got into some side lanes. The Chief ordered Blunt's Horse Artillery troop to come into action. The gallant commander, turning his horses sharp to the right, dashed straight up the steep and seemingly impracticable bank. After much struggling and tugging the top was reached, and Blunt galloped forward through a deadly cross-fire of musketry, gained an open ground at the end of the lane between a *serai* and the Secunder Bagh, and unlimbering his guns opened fire. Colin Campbell also faced the steep bank; his charger with two or three strides carried him to the summit, and following Blunt at full speed he placed himself near one of the guns. Blunt had to turn them in three directions,—to the right to keep down the heavy musketry fire from the Secunder Bagh, to the left and left front to check the deadly fusilade from some huts a few yards away, and to the front to reply to the cannonade which the enemy had opened from the Kaiser Bagh. Many of the gunners were struck down. Sir Colin himself was hit with great

Storming
of the
Secunder
Bagh. .

force on the thigh by a musket-shot which, passing through a gunner, had killed him on the spot. But though the bullets flew thicker and closer Blunt held his ground, and then the 93rd, who had been supporting the 53rd in clearing the enclosure, came forth from the winding lane and rushed at the huts to the left from which the most severe fire came. A dead wall stopped them. "In at the roof! Tear off the tiles and go in through the roof!" shouted the old Chief. In an instant the Highlanders sprang on the roofs, tore them open, and drove the rebels out. Then supported by two of Blunt's guns they pursued them across the plain. Two of the enemy's guns were raking the road. Some of the 93rd with a few of the 53rd, under the leadership of Captain Drummond Steurd, dashed at them and seized them in gallant style.¹ The Highlanders pursued their advantage, drove the rebels out of the *serai*, seized the barracks² and immediately converted it into a military post, the 53rd in skirmishing order connecting it with the main attack.³

While these brilliant actions were passing, two of Travers's 18-pounder guns had been brought for-

¹ "Historical Records of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, compiled and edited by Roderick Hamilton Burgoyne Lale, 93rd Highlanders," p. 188.

² "An immense building in the shape of a cross, with a tower in the centre, which stood in a sort of large square without houses round the greater part."—Ibid.

³ "This action on the part of the Highlanders was as serviceable as it was heroic, for it silenced the fire most destructive to the attacking force."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 323.

ward, and the sappers having cut down part of the high bank, Sir Colin called upon the infantry to drag them up. Willingly and gallantly the soldiers responded to the call, and after great exertions they hauled them up by ropes, and, under a most smiting fire, put them in position, about sixty yards from the south-east corner of the wall. The infantry were placed in a copse, with a low dry mud bank in front, which afforded them some slight shelter, and they kept up a lively musketry battle with the garrison, while the guns bombarded the wall. The hard white Indian mortar fell in flakes, but the stout rampart remained intact. Hardy, captain of the battery, was killed, the senior subaltern was wounded, Blunt's charger, a beautiful grey Arab, was shot. Men and horses were knocked over.¹ But the combat was maintained. It had continued for half an hour, when a loud cheer announced that a rent had been made in the walls. It was small, but the enemy's fire was so destructive and time so precious that Sir Colin ordered the assault, and, uncovering his grey hairs, waved his forage cap for a sign to advance.² In an instant soldier and sepoy

¹ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 324.

² "How I won the Victoria Cross," by T. Henry Kavanagh, p. 106. Major Alison ("Blackwood's Magazine," October 1858), Sir Hope Grant ("Incidents in the Sepoy War, 1857-58, compiled from the Private Journals of General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B."), Sir Hugh Gough ("Old Memories," "Pall Mall Magazine," November 1856), Lord Roberts ("Forty-one Years in India"), Thomas H. Kavanagh ("How I won the Victoria Cross"), all of whom were present, mention the gallant race between the Highlanders and the Sikhs. In the Historical Records of the 93rd Highlanders the incident is mentioned. Sir Colin Campbell, in his official despatch, states that "the storming

were over the wall with a loud clamour, and a keen and gallant race took place between the Sikhs and Highlanders, as Gokul Sing, of the Sikhs, waving his tulwar over his head, dashed in front of his men, and Paul, of the 4th Punjab Infantry, with voice and action urged on his wild followers, closely followed by the 53rd, led by Gordon, and the battalion of detachments under Barnston. They rushed forward through the storm straight to the breach. Lieutenant Cooper, of the 93rd, Lieutenant Bur-

of the Secunderbagh was done in the most brilliant manner by the remainder of the Highlanders and the 53rd and the 4th Punjab Infantry, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston." He also adds : "I must not omit to name in the most marked manner Subadar Gokul Sing, 4th Punjab Rifles, who, in conjunction with the British officers, led the 4th Punjab Rifles at the storming of Secunderbagh in the most daring manner." Lieutenant-Colonel W. Gordon-Alexander, 93rd Highlanders, who was also present, challenges, in "Recollections of a Highland Subaltern" (1898), the statements of these witnesses. He writes : "There never was any question at the time of any of the 4th Punjabis having entered the breach with us at the first rush, except, apparently, in the minds of the Head-Quarter Staff and Sir Colin himself, who most unquestionably mistook the turbaned Punjab Sappers and Miners, in a uniform similar to the 4th Punjabis, for men of that regiment, because these sappers raced with us to the breach for the purpose of enlarging the hole for us, and lost some of their number killed and wounded before they reached it. None of us saw Sir Colin's despatches for months afterwards, and when we did, those of us who, like myself, knew that the paragraph given below [above] was misleading, would hardly have ventured to argue that question with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief : thus it has remained uncontradicted and unexplained to this day." But there was no reason why Major Alison's statement that Paul with his voice and action urged on his wild followers should have remained uncontradicted for forty years. Sir Hope Grant's Diary was printed in 1873 ; Historical Records of the 93rd Highlanders in 1883. On reading "The Recollections of a Highland Subaltern" I wrote to Lord Roberts on the subject, who replied : "It is no use telling me that no Punjabis went in by the breach, when I saw them racing with the Highlanders for it and go in by it with them." Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Cooper, who was one of the two first, if not the very first, in the



FRONT VIEW OF THE SEUNDER BAGH.

(SHOWING THE BREACH.)

roughs, and Colonel Ewart, of the same regiment, Captain Lumsden, of the 30th Bengal Infantry,¹ Corporal Robert Fraser, Lance-Corporal Dunlay, and Private William Nairn, all of the 93rd, were among the first to scramble through it.² They kept the enemy at bay until a number of Highlanders and Sikhs one by one pushed through the narrow hole, when they rushed in a body into the open square. Ewart, accompanied by Cooper, Lumsden,³ and a few soldiers and Sikhs, took the breach, states : "One of the 4th Punjab Rifles and one of the 93rd were in front of me" Colonel Alexander further states that Lieutenant Paul "led his men past the north-east bastion opposite his position round to the north-west bastion, at the opposite corner of the enclosure to that in which the breach had been made, and succeeded in scaling the wall there. That is to say, the 4th Punjabis, or the bulk of them, effected by themselves, without the aid of artillery, or, I believe, of scaling ladders, a lodgment on the roof of the bastion at the opposite side of the compass to that from which we entered." Lord Roberts writes : " You may take my word for it that no troops stormed the north-west bastion. How could they ? No breach was made in it, and the wall was a great deal too high to be scaled without ladders, and we had none. Having two years ago spent many hours in a careful examination of the Secunderbagh, I am certain no troops could scale the high wall or the bastion without scaling ladders."

¹ Attached as interpreter to the 93rd Highlanders.

² "A drummer-boy of the 93rd must have been one of the first to pass that grim boundary between life and death, for when I got in I found him just inside the breach, lying on his back quite dead—a pretty, innocent-looking, fair-haired lad, not more than fourteen years of age."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.A., K.G., vol. i. p. 326.

³ "It is right that I should say I have read the account given of this affair by Colonel Malleson in his 'History of the Indian Mutiny,' in which he says : 'No other officer accompanied them' (Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart and Lieutenant Cooper). In this, however, he is evidently misinformed, for I have the best authority, that of Lieutenant-General Ewart, for stating that Captain Lumsden was also with him. And in a letter to me, dated 22nd June 1892, he adds, 'If any man deserved the Victoria Cross that day it was poor Lumsden, who was, as you know, attached to the 93rd as interpreter. I never saw any

path to the right. On turning to the left at the end they came upon a large body of rebels. Lumsden, a man of uncommon bravery, waved his sword above his head and called out to the Highlanders, "Come on, men, for the honour of Scotland!" He fell dead. A stalwart rebel came at Cooper with a shield in his left hand and a sword in his right. "He dropped his shield for a moment, we both cut at each other at the same instant (my sword was six inches longer than regulation). I caught him fair on his head; he cut through my feather bonnet and deep into my head and forehead as he fell dead." Ewart at the same time was engaged in a desperate fight with a knot of rebels, several of whom he shot with his revolver.

Meanwhile Burroughs, accompanied by some of his men, had on entering the breach taken the path to the left towards the gateway. He had not gone far when a number of the enemy made a rush out of the gate-house. "Having but three men with me—Corporal Robert Fraser, Lance-Corporal John Dunlay,¹ and Private William Nairn—and one of these, Dunlay, having been struck in the leg by a musket-ball—we retired and commenced firing, which checked the men coming at us. As soon as

man in all my service behave more gallantly, and had he not been killed I should have tried to get it for him!"—"Historical Records of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, compiled and edited by Roderick Hamilton Burgoyne Lale, 93rd Highlanders," note, pp. 186, 187.

¹ Lance-Corporal John Dunlay was awarded the Victoria Cross "for being the first man now surviving of the regiment (93rd Sutherland Highlanders) who, on the 16th of November 1857, entered one of the breaches of the Secunderbagh at Lucknow with Captain Burroughs, whom he most gallantly supported against superior numbers of the enemy."—"London Gazette," 24th December 1858.

a few more men had got through the breach I again advanced with them to the gate-house, which we found occupied by the enemy, and with whom we immediately entered into a hand-to-hand fight." In the scuffle Burroughs, whilst he was cutting at one of the rebels, received a sword-cut on the head from another sepoy. "My feather bonnet saved my head and my life. It was dented in like a bishop's mitre." At this moment the 93rd and the 4th Punjab Infantry poured in through the gateway. Finding the crush at the breach too great, a party of the stormers, passing to the left, had made for it, and found it carefully protected by a traverse of earth and masonry. Gallantly led by a Dogra Subadar, a body of the 4th Punjab Infantry rushed the traverse and drove the rebels from the earth-works. They fled through the gateway, and the heavy doors were on the point of being closed when a Mahomedan, Mukurrab Khan by name, "pushed his left arm, on which he carried a shield, between them, thus preventing their being shut; on his hand being badly wounded by a sword-cut he drew it out, instantly thrusting in the other arm, when the right hand was all but severed from the wrist."¹ Truly a gallant bit of work—no finer done in a

Gallant
action of
Mukurrab
Khan.

¹ Lord Roberts writes: "This devoted action of Mukurrab Khan I myself witnessed, for with Augustus Anson I got in immediately behind the storming party."

For this act of heroism Mukurrab Khan was given the Order of Merit, the Indian equivalent of the Victoria Cross, but carrying with it an increase of pay. At the end of the campaign Mukurrab Khan left the service, but when his old Commanding Officer, Colonel Wilde, went to the Umbeyla Expedition in 1863, Mukurrab Khan turned up and insisted on serving with him as an orderly.—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. pp. 326, 327.

campaign memorable for its brave deeds. The doors could not be closed, and Mukurrab's comrades simply forced them back and rushed into the enclosure, whilst the 53rd broke through a window on the right. The enemy, finding escape impossible, fought with the courage of despair and the fury of religious hate. A din of hideous noises rose into the air : the rattle of musketry, the curses and yells of sepoys, the fierce cry of the British soldier, "Remember Cawnpore, boys!" From the windows around the courtyard the rebels poured bullets thick as hail on the assailants. The Sikhs, shooting and bayoneting, mounted the narrow staircase step by step—a final struggle, and the bodies were hurled into the flower-beds below. In the courtyard waxed the mighty fray. A dark mass of sepoy's fiercely wrestling were slowly and with horrid carnage pushed back by the bayonet into a pavilion in the centre of the garden. Here they sullenly and obstinately maintained the struggle, but gradually they were driven to the northern wall. The earth was wet with dark blood : dead and wounded, some of them with their clothes in a blaze, lay in a horrid pile, a yard or more in height. Above the mass stood on a narrow ledge the survivors slashing with sabres the British soldier as he charged home with the bayonet. Every man perished fighting. But there was no pause in the contest. A body of rebels held out in one of the towers, and from above sent down a smiting fire. Officers and men threw themselves against the strong door in the vain hope of bursting it open. Then a gun was brought into the courtyard, and the roar of cannon and the crash-



THE SECUNDER BAGH.
(AFTER THE ASSAULT.)

ing of walls increased the maddening din. The door fell and the staircase was stormed. Now the tumult gradually ceased, and the night's dead silence held the place. Next morning two thousand sepoys dressed in their old uniforms lay dead in heaps about the garden. The small bayonet wound and the deep gash of the Sikh tulwar bore witness how fiercely fought and how terribly won was the combat at the Secunder Bagh. Sir Colin Campbell did not use the language of exaggeration when he wrote, "There never was a bolder feat of arms."

It was long past noon when Adrian Hope drew off his brigade from the Secunder Bagh and advanced towards the Residency along the road which, after passing between the Secunder Bagh and the *serai*, runs across an open plain for about twelve hundred yards. He had not gone three hundred yards when he came across, on the left of the road, a small village with garden enclosures round it, which was cleared by him and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon. Captain Peel's Royal Naval siege-train, together with the battery and some mortars, then went to the front and advanced towards the Shah Nujeef,¹ a domed mosque with a garden, about two hundred and fifty yards farther on and one hundred yards to the right of the road. The mosque had been converted into a strong post by the enemy: the

Adrian
Hope
advances
towards
the Resi-
dency.

Capture of
the Shah
Nujeef.

¹ Shah Nujeef or Shah Najaf is the Mausoleum of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, the first King of Oudh in 1814, and was built by himself. It is situated about 150 yards to the east of the Moti Mahal and 180 yards to the south of the right bank of the Goomtee. It was called Najaf from the hill on which is built the tomb of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed, of which the Mausoleum of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar is said to be an exact copy.

high strong square walls had been loopholed with great care, the entrance had been covered by a regular work in masonry, and the top of the building had been crowned with a parapet.¹ Between the Shah Nujjeef and the plain lay a thick fringe of jungle, with mud cottages scattered about and Eastern garden enclosures with tall trees, which concealed the large low dome of the mosque till you were on it. To our right between the mosque and the Secunder Bagh was a mosque called the Kuddum Russool.² This rebel position was very strong, but it must be attacked straightway and taken. It barred the road to the Residency. The mortars and Peel's guns being placed in battery, with their left resting on the village, opened fire. From the Shah Nujjeef and the garden enclosures came a deadly fire, wasting the gunners. Martin Abbot Daniel, a midshipman in command of an 8-inch howitzer, was killed by a round shot which tore away the right side of his head. Peel had just asked him if his gun was ready. "He replied, 'All ready, sir,' when I said, 'Fire the howitzer,' and he was answering, 'Aye, aye,' when a round shot in less than a moment deprived him of his life."³

Martin
Abbot
Daniel.

¹ From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, dated Head-Quarters, Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.

² The Kuddum Russool, or Prophet's Footprint, was a mosque which contained a stone bearing the impress of a foot, said to be that of the Prophet, which had been brought from Arabia by a pilgrim.

³ Letter from Captain Peel to his father. "We buried him," added Peel, "where he fell, our Chaplain reading the service, and in laying him in his resting-place we felt, Captain, officers, and men, that we had lost one of the best and noblest of the *Shannon's*."—"The *Shannon's* Brigade in India," by Edmund Hope Verney, p. 33.

Barnston's battalion was now ordered to drive the enemy from the fringe of the jungle and the enclosures. They advanced in skirmishing order under cover of our guns. But Barnston fell wounded by the premature bursting of one of our own shells. The fall of their leader and the sharp musketry caused the men to waver and retire. Norman put spurs to his horse, and galloping into their midst asked them if British soldiers were going to retire before sepoys.¹ Straightway they were back into the fringe of jungle. More infantry were brought to support them. The enclosures were taken and the buildings in front burnt. But the battle made no way. From the Shah Nujjeef the rebels kept up an unintermitting fire of grape and musketry : from the guns in the Kaiser Bagh and Mess-House they dealt their blows one after another. At 4 o'clock they opened an oblique fire from a heavy gun on the opposite bank of the river, whose first shot blew up one of Peel's tumbrils. Already, owing to the deadly musketry, one of his guns could not be worked, and the fire from the remainder had diminished. Peel's usually bright face became grave

¹ "I had many opportunities for noting Norman's coolness and presence of mind under fire. On this particular occasion these qualities were most marked, and his action was most timely."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 231.

"A retreat was not to be thought of ; indeed our remaining so long stationary had been an encouragement to the enemy, and every one felt that the only chance for the little army fighting against 30,000 desperate mutineers, with every advantage of position and intimate knowledge of locality in their favour, was to continue to advance at all hazards ; and this our gallant old Chief decided to do."—*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 342.

and anxious. "Sir Colin sat on his white horse, exposed to the whole storm of shot, looking intently on the Shah Nujjeef, which was wreathed in columns of smoke from burning buildings to its front, but sparkled all over with the bright flash of fire-arms." For three hours had the bombardment lasted and no impression been made on the stout walls. For three hours had the Shah Nujjeef sent forth a perennial stream of fire not to be checked by our heavy guns. To remain was sheer death. To retreat by the narrow defile blocked with troops was out of the question. The moment was decisive: Colin Campbell collecting the 93rd around him said unto them: "I had no intention of employing you again to-day, but the Shah Nujjeef must be taken. The artillery cannot drive the enemy out, so you must with the bayonet." Thus spoke the old Chief, and he stirred the spirit and soul of every man by telling them that he would lead them himself.

Sir Colin Campbell forthwith gave orders that Middleton's battery of the Royal Artillery should pass Peel's guns on the right, and getting as close as possible to the Shah Nujjeef open fire. Instantly and magnificently was the command obeyed. With loud cheers, the drivers waving their whips, the gunners their caps, they galloped forward through the deadly fire, unlimbered, and poured round after round of grape upon the parapets of the enclosure. Peel, manning again all his guns, redoubled his fire. Under cover of this heavy cannonade the 93rd, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Leith Hay,

advanced, supported by Barnston's battalion of detachments. "The grey-haired veteran of many fights rode with his sword drawn at their head; keen was his eye, as when, in the pride of youth, he led the stormers at St Sebastian. His staff crowded round him. Hope, too, with his towering form and gentle smile, was there leading, as ever was his wont, the men by whom he was loved so well."¹ As they approached the angle of the enclosure the shells and musketry thinned their ranks. Two of Sir Colin's personal staff were shot down.² Hope, his aide-de-camp, and his brigade-major had their horses shot under them. The men went on steadily till before them towered a wall 20 feet high, from whose parapet and countless loopholes came in blasts a storm of musket balls. Many fell. The assailants replied to their slayers with musketry, yet with little effect, and no ladders were available for escalading the ramparts. Nothing to be done but to breach them. Under cover of the withering fire of the Highlanders, sailors and soldiers, Hope, Hay, and David Baird lending a helping hand, dragged the guns within a few yards of the fortification, and Peel, behaving very much "as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside

¹ "Blackwood's Magazine," October 1858.

² "Almost instantaneously the narrow path along which we were proceeding was choked with wounded officers and dead and struggling horses. It was here that Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Colin's aide-de-camp, lost his arm, and his brother (another aide-de-camp) was wounded. Adrian Hope's horse was shot dead; indeed, very few escaped injury, either to themselves or their horses. I was one of the lucky few."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 333.

an enemy's frigate," poured his broadsides into the stout massive walls. But no impression was made on the solid masonry. Never did English soldier or sailor distinguish himself more than on this afternoon. They worked the guns, though every moment many were killed and more were wounded. But while their own losses were terrible, they could inflict but little in return. A few paces from the wall grew a lofty tree. A rebel marksman firing from the top of the wall was causing considerable havoc among the gunners when Peel called out that any one who should mount the tree and shoot the man should be recommended for the Victoria Cross. At once the appeal was answered, for Nowell Salmon and two sailors immediately rushed forward. One fell dead at the foot of the tree, Salmon swarmed up, and the sailor from below handed him the rifles. But Salmon was soon spied and fired at and severely wounded. For this act of gallantry he was awarded the Victoria Cross.¹ Soldiers and sailors were being destroyed by bullets, and that was all. Day was fast turning into night, when the strife must be abandoned. The rocket tubes were brought up, and whilst they discharged their fiery missiles into the building, Peel, with the reluctance of a brave man, slowly withdrew his guns. Allgood, the Assistant Quartermaster-General with headquarters, carried the gloomy tidings of the failure of the attack to the Chief. Sir Colin ordered him to tell Hope that he was not to retire till he had collected all his dead and wounded. This was done. Mean-

Nowell
Salmon.

¹ Now Admiral Sir Nowell Salmon, V.C., K.C.B.

while Hope turning to Allgood remarked : "This is very mortifying ; let us take 50 men and try and look into the place before we retire." Collecting some fifty Highlanders, the two friends (they had been school-fellows) crept stealthily through the brushwood, guided by Sergeant J. Paton of the regiment, till they reached a rent in the wall which Paton had discovered.¹ A soldier was pushed up it with some difficulty. He reported that no enemy could be seen : Hope and Hay, accompanied by several men, immediately followed. Allgood returned for a company of sappers—who, quickly arriving, enlarged the opening, and more Highlanders entered. Then Hope's small party pushing on gained the main gateway and threw it open for their comrades. "The white dresses of the last of the garrison were just seen gliding away amidst the rolling smoke in the dark shadows of the night." Allgood hastened to inform the Chief that the Shah Nujeef was in our possession, "and never," he wrote, "was I the bearer of more joyful news."

Sergeant
Paton.

Sir Colin Campbell and Hope Grant with their respective staffs took up their quarters in the Shah Nujeef, but the occupation was only nominal, for Sir Colin always made a point of sleeping with his men, who bivouacked at their posts, which extended in a semicircle from the Shah Nujeef and Kuddum Russool (which had been seized and occupied) on the

¹ Sergeant Paton was awarded the Victoria Cross. "For distinguished personal gallantry at Lucknow on the 16th November 1857, in proceeding alone round the Shah Nujeef under an extremely heavy fire, discovering a breach in the opposite side, to which he afterwards conducted the regiment, by which means that position was taken."

extreme right, to the barracks on the extreme left. The centre was at the Secunder Bagh, and on the plains on its front and left communication with the Dilkoosha had been kept up by the energy of the cavalry, and constant patrolling.

Meanwhile the garrison had not been idle. On the evening of the 15th of November, just as it was growing dark, Sir Colin's welcome signal, "Advance to-morrow," was made out. Early next morning Havelock and Outram repaired to the Chatar Manzil, and from the upper storey anxiously watched the progress of the relieving force. It had been determined that as soon as it reached the Secunder Bagh the outer wall of the advanced garden of the palace should be blown in by the mines which had been previously laid; that two powerful batteries which, concealed behind the lofty wall, had been constructed in the enclosure, should then open on the insurgents' defences in front; and after the desired effect had been produced, that the troops should storm the Hirun Khana or Deer House and the steam engine-house, two buildings which intervened between our extreme front and the Moti Mahal. Three days before mines had been prepared for the formation of breaches in the former, loaded and tamped.

About 11 A.M. the boom of heavy guns announced that the Chief was advancing, and soon after the heavy rattle of musketry proclaimed that he was approaching the Secunder Bagh. Soon by the aid of glasses could be seen the guns opening on the fortified garden. Orders were immediately given to

Outram
and
Havelock
operate in
support
of Sir
Colin.

explode the mines. They were fired, but the action was feeble. Two breaches were made to the right with a long piece of wall intervening; and on the left the wall was only split and shaken.¹ No sooner had the breaches appeared than the enemy covered them with a heavy fire of musketry and shot from the Kaiser Bagh. Our heavy guns replied. But the long strip of wall in front impeded their fire. "The guns are turned upon it, and round shot after round shot passes through it, as it would through a sheet of paper, leaving only a round hole behind."² At last, however, large masses crumbled and broke away, affording a clear space for the batteries of Eyre and Olpherts to batter the buildings, while Maude shelled them from six mortars in a quadrangle of the palace. In the palace square the troops were formed and brought up in succession through the approaches. At a quarter-past three two of the mines at the Hirun Khana exploded

¹ "The batteries, which had been for some time previously constructed for this purpose, were concealed behind a lofty wall forming the boundary of our position in that quarter. On them were mounted four 18-pounder iron guns, one 8-inch iron howitzer, four 9-pounder field guns, and two 24-pounder field howitzers, under the skilful direction of Captain Olpherts, Lieutenants Fraser and Smithett (the latter twice wounded and distinguished on several occasions), and Staff-Sergeant Melville, of the 1st Company, 5th Battalion. In position behind were six 8-inch mortars under Captain Maude, R.A., most ably assisted by Lieutenants Maitland, R.A., and Simpson and Ward, of the Bengal Native Infantry, the two latter being volunteers well instructed in artillery science."—From Major V. Eyre, commanding Artillery Brigade, to Colonel R. Napier, Chief of the Staff with the Force under Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., dated Camp, Alumbagh near Lucknow, 8th January 1858.—"State Papers," vol. iii. p. 437.

² "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, p. 431.

with good effect. At a quarter-past three the advance sounded. "It is impossible," wrote Havelock, "to describe the enthusiasm with which this signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned. Their cheers echoed through the courts of the palace, responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them." In a few minutes the whole of the buildings were in our possession. They were held against all attacks, and during the night the artillery pushed forward their heavy guns, and some batteries were rapidly constructed from which to open on the Kaiser Bagh, now within easy breaching distance. The Mess-House and the Moti Mahal alone intervened between the two forces, but, after the Moti Mahal was taken, communication with the Residency would still be exposed to a flanking fire from the Kaiser Bagh.

November
17th
attack on
the Mess-
House and
the Moti
Mahal.

While it was still dark, Sir Colin's troops were roused by the clang of guns, the blowing of bugles, and the beating of drums. They promptly and silently fell into their ranks prepared to meet the foe, but no attack was made. The enemy contented themselves with opening a fire of round shot on the *serai* near the Secunder Bagh, where the wounded had been carried for greater protection and safety. At the first streak of day Lieutenant and Adjutant M'Bean, assisted by Sergeant Hutchinson, ascended the roof of the Shah Nujjeef, and under a brisk fire hoisted the regimental colour of the 93rd on its

Gallant
conduct of
Lieut.
M' Bean
and Ser-
geant Hut-
chinson.

highest pinnacle, as a signal to the garrison how far the Chief had advanced. It was answered by a colour on the Chutter Munzil. Then Sir Colin, with characteristic caution and deliberation, arranged the plans of the day. His first care was the protection of his left rear, which, though partially secured by the occupation of the barracks, was still liable to be turned by the enemy at or near the hospital, and the four bungalows south of it, situated by the side of the road which ran from the city to the Martinière, just beyond where it bifurcated to the Dilkoosha. In order, therefore, to secure his rear in that direction, Sir Colin sent Brigadier Russell with detachments of her Majesty's 82nd, 23rd, and 93rd Highlanders to capture the bungalows and Banks' House near the bridge, over which the road to the Dilkoosha crosses the canal. After considerable difficulty the enclosures of the bungalows were occupied, and a detachment of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, led by Lieutenant Keen, pushing forward, occupied Banks' House.¹

Meanwhile the Naval Brigade and Mortar Batteries were bombarding the Mess-House, a building of considerable size, defended by a ditch twelve feet broad and scarped with masonry, beyond that a loopholed wall.² Sir Colin, in order to save his infantry, had determined to use his guns as much

Capture of
the Mess-
House.

¹ "Eight Months' Campaign amongst the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 146.

Now Major-General Keen, C.B. Earl Roberts writes, "It was an extremely responsible charge for so young an officer with such a small party, as it was very isolated and exposed to attack."

² "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 339.

as possible, and it was after the building had been battered for about three hours and the musketry fire of the enemy had begun to slacken, that the Chief, thinking it might be stormed "without much risk," gave the order to advance. The storming party consisted of a company of the 90th Foot under Captain Wolseley, and a picquet of her Majesty's 53rd under Captain Hopkins, supported by Major Barnston's battalion of detachments under Captain Guise, her Majesty's 90th Foot, and some of the Punjab Infantry under Lieutenant Powlett. The Mess-House was carried immediately with a rush, and by order of the Chief, Lieutenant Roberts, assisted by Sir David Baird and Captain Hopkins, planted under a shower of bullets a regimental colour on one of its turrets to show Outram and Havelock how far they had advanced.¹ Twice was it shot down. "Notwithstanding I managed," wrote Lord Roberts, "to prop it up a third time on the turret, and it was not again hit, though the enemy continued to fire at it for some time."² The troops then pressed forward with great vigour, and lined the wall separating the Mess-House from the Moti Mahal. Here the enemy made their last stand. Captain Wolseley sent for some sappers, who, coming up, made openings in the wall through which the troops poured and attacked the network of buildings within. The rebels fought stubbornly, but they were driven at the point of the bayonet from room

Lieut.
Roberts
plants a
regimental
colour on
the Mess-
House.

Capture
of the
Moti
Mahal.

¹ MS. Letter from Sir David Baird.

² "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 337.

to room, and after the lapse of some time thrust forth from the vast enclosure.

The relieving force and the garrison were now separated only by the open space between the engine-house and the Moti Mahal. It was not more than four hundred and fifty yards across, but it was exposed to a hot fire of musketry from the Kaiser Bagh and a heavy cannonade from the Badshah Bagh across the river. Lieutenant Moorsom, her Majesty's 52nd Foot, a soldier of great ability and uncommon bravery, was the first to attempt the dangerous passage across. Creeping cautiously along the road, he reached Sir Colin's post unhurt, and returned with two officers. Then Outram and Havelock with their respective staffs went forth to greet the Commander-in-Chief. The enemy's fire had slackened, and Havelock, accompanied by Lieutenant Palliser and his bugler, Dick Pearson, of the 78th, reached the Moti Mahal in safety. Hope Grant, an old companion-in-arms, was the first to congratulate him on being relieved. "He went up to the men, who immediately flocked around him and gave him three cheers. This was too much for the fine old General : his breast heaved with emotion, and his eyes filled with tears." He turned to the men and said, "Soldiers, I am happy to see you ; soldiers, I am happy to think you have got into this place with a smaller loss than I had." Hope Grant asked him what he supposed the loss amounted to. "He answered that he had heard it estimated at eighty, and was much surprised and grieved when I told him we had lost about forty-three officers and

Outram
and
Havelock
cross over
to meet
Sir Colin
Campbell.

Meeting
of the
Generals.

four hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.”¹ The party then proceeded to meet Sir Colin at the Mess-House. Whilst threading the passages and courts of the Moti Mahal, they nearly lost their lives. A shell fell near Havelock, and bounding against a wall burst at his feet. He was prostrated by the concussion, but sustained no other injury. The distance from the Moti Mahal to the Mess-House was only twenty-five yards, but an iron tempest swept across the open road. Colonel Napier and Lieutenant Sitwell were wounded in running the gauntlet of fire, but Outram and Havelock crossed over unhurt to the outside wall of the Mess-House enclosure. An opening was quickly made by the Sappers, through which they entered. On the sward sloping down from the Mess-House stood Sir Colin Campbell, and a blaze of shot and musketry from the Kaiser Bagh rose upon them as the three veterans met. “This was a very happy meeting,” wrote Hope Grant, “and a cordial shaking of hands took place.”² On Sir J. Outram privation had not told so heavily, but the hand of death was on General Havelock, though he lighted up a little on being told for the first time that he was Sir Henry.³ Loud rang the cheers as the news sped along from post to post that the three Generals had

Meeting
of Colin
Campbell,
Outram,
and
Havelock.

¹ “Incidents in the Sepoy War,” by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., p. 192.

² *Ibid.*, p. 192.

³ On the 26th September Havelock received the degree of Knight Commander of the Bath.

“The Relief of Lucknow,” by Colonel Sir Henry W. Norman, C.B., p. 24.

met. "The relief of the besieged garrison had been accomplished." In these few terse words the Commander-in-Chief announced the accomplishment of a brilliant achievement, guided by a master hand, and brought to a successful close by the pluck of the British soldier. "Every man in the force," wrote Sir Colin, "had exerted himself to the utmost, and now met with his reward."

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FEW of the officers of the Relieving Force ran the gauntlet of fire and entered the Residency. Not only the old garrison, but also the men belonging to the First Relieving Force, bore manifest tokens of what they had gone through,—bad food, foul air, and noisome exhalations had left their mark. “In the ragged summer clothing in which they had entered these men looked worn and hungry, and in one corner was seen the curious spectacle—I suppose common enough in the garrison —of a British soldier making chuppatis (unleavened cakes) for himself out of his scanty allowance of flour. Entering a battery which was trying to silence some of the enemy’s guns across the river, these officers saw a few men grimed with smoke and without coat or waistcoat, all so alike in costume and appearance, that it was only by asking which was the officer that they ascertained they were standing close to one they well knew,—one of the bravest officers of the Bengal Artillery.”¹ When they came to the Bailey Guard and looked at the battered wall and gateway, not an inch without a mark from a round shot or bullet, “we

¹ “Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow,” by Colonel Sir H. W. Norman, C.B., p. 23.

Captain William Olpherts, now General Sir William Olpherts, V.C., K.C.B.

marvelled," wrote Lord Roberts, "that Aitken and Loughman could have managed to defend it for nearly five months. There was plenty of evidence on all the surrounding buildings of the dangerous nature of the service which they and their gallant Native comrades had so admirably performed. Although we were pressed for time, we could not resist stopping to speak to some of the Native officers and sepoys, whose magnificent loyalty throughout the siege was one of the most gratifying features of the Mutiny."¹

That night Sir Colin and his men again lay by their arms. They had joined hands with the Residency, but a most difficult and dangerous task remained to be done. They had to cover and protect the withdrawal of all the women, children, sick, wounded, ammunition, treasure, and stores, and they had to effect this in the face of a vast force of the enemy. When Sir Colin met Outram and Havelock he promptly informed them of his intention to carry out his original plan, for which he had prepared them²—the withdrawal of the garrison;

¹ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 340.

² Sir Colin Campbell wrote to Outram on the 10th of November : "I am here with a very weak force, deficient in all essentials. I have not ammunition for more than three days' firing ; but I have come to hand out the wounded, women and children, and garrison, and I have no means to attempt anything more, and I shall be thankful to effect this. I shall blow up the Residency. My communications are threatened from Calpee, where the Gwalior Contingent, with forty guns, sixteen of which are heavy, are swelled by remnants of many regiments under Koer Singh to about ten thousand men. They must be dealt with. You must make your arrangements for getting every one clear of the Residency when I am able to give the order, abandon-

Outram
desires to
hold the
town.

and he made his arrangements with them for the prosecution of his design. The next day Outram waited on the Commander-in-Chief and expressed his opinion that the Kaiser Bagh should be taken, and that we should then continue to hold the town, for which he considered that "two strong brigades of 600 men" would suffice after the Kaiser Bagh had been taken. Sir Colin was "of opinion that at least the same force would be necessary to preserve the communication now maintained by me to the Alum Bagh and constantly under the fire of the enemy—that is to say, four strong brigades would be required, unless it is wished that the garrison should be again besieged." Sir Colin had always been of opinion that the position taken up by Henry Lawrence was a false one, and after becoming acquainted with the ground and working his troops upon it to relieve the garrison, that opinion was confirmed.¹ He therefore held "that to commit another garrison in this immense city is to repeat a military error, and I cannot consent to it." He considered that "a strong movable division outside the town, with field and heavy artillery in a good military position, is the real manner of holding the city of Lucknow in check, according to our practice with the other great cities of India. Such a division would aid in subduing the country hereafter, and its position would be quite sufficient

ing baggage, destroying guns, but saving the treasure. Until the wounded and women are in my camp the real business of the contest cannot go on, and all the efforts of Government are paralysed."

—*"Life of Lord Clyde,"* by General Shadwell, vol. i. p. 455.

¹ See *supra*, vol. i. p. 189.

evidence of our intention not to abandon the province of Oudh." These were the general grounds for his opinion. "The more special ones are the want of means, particularly infantry, field and musket ammunition for prolonged operations, owing to circumstances beyond my control, and the state of our communications in the North-West Provinces. The first of these is, of course, unanswerable; the second appears to me an insuperable objection to the leaving of more troops in Oudh than such a division as I have mentioned as evidence of the intentions of Government."¹ The state of our communications in the North-West Provinces was no doubt the strongest reason for Sir Colin's retirement. It was essential to the communication, and to the state of the scattered parties, that Sir Colin, having extricated the garrison at Lucknow, should fall back as speedily as possible on Cawnpore, the key of all future operations, the safety of which he knew was menaced by the whole Gwalior Contingent. Sir Colin had made up his mind, and all opposition was in vain.² Outram was the Political Officer, but Sir Colin would not defer the withdrawal of the

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 336.

² Field-Marshal Lord Roberts writes: "That the Chief was right there can be no room for doubt. His force was barely strong enough for the service it had to perform. Every man was on duty night and day; there was no reserve to fall back upon; and had he listened to these proposals and allowed himself to be drawn into complications in the city, it is more than probable that those he had come to succour would have been sacrificed. The wisdom of his decision was fully proved by subsequent events, and unreservedly acknowledged by Hope Grant and others who at the time differed from him in their ideas of the course which should be adopted."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 342.

garrison till the decision of the Governor-General had been obtained. After the garrison had been removed he sent, on the 20th of November, a telegram to the Governor-General stating the case, and added, "Owing to the expression of opinion by the political authority in the country, I have delayed further movement till I shall receive your Lordship's reply." The following day Lord Canning replied: "The one step to be avoided is the total withdrawal of the British forces from Oudh. Your proposal to leave a strong movable division with heavy artillery outside the city, and so to hold the city in check, will answer every purpose of policy."

Though the left rear of Sir Colin's position had been secured on the night of the 17th instant by the occupation of Banks' House and the four bungalows, our hold on them was most precarious. The enemy, appreciating the value of the position, kept up an unceasing fire on all the buildings occupied by Brigadier Russell and on the barracks occupied by the Highlanders. To silence that fire was of the utmost importance. For not only did the buildings protect our left rear, but Sir Colin, not wishing to be dependent on the narrow tortuous sandy lane by which he had advanced, was desirous of withdrawing the garrison by the metalled wide road which ran from the Secunder Bagh between the bungalows and the barracks to the Dilkoosha Bridge over the canal guarded by Banks' House. On the evening of the 17th Brigadier Russell sent word he could not silence the fire of the enemy without heavy guns. On the morning of the 18th

Telegram
to the
Governor-
General,
20th
November.

Lord
Canning's
reply to
the tele-
gram.

18th

November.

Sir Colin ordered Colonel Biddulph, the Deputy Quartermaster-General, to proceed to the barracks to discover whether guns could be taken down in safety to Russell's assistance, and report to the Commander-in-Chief on the whole situation. Lieutenant Roberts was sent with him to bring back the required information.¹ On arriving at the barracks Colonel Biddulph, in company with Captain Bourchier, proceeded to reconnoitre the whole of the roads which formed a network among the villages lying between the barracks and the canal. A suitable one having been found, a 9-pounder and a 24-pounder howitzer, with four 5½-inch mortars, were at once got into position in the enclosure of the second bungalow, the mortars being placed behind the house itself to shell the neighbourhood. An iron 18-pounder of the enemy's was not above 120 yards distant, "and to avoid giving notice to the enemy of our intentions by opening an embrasure, the muzzle of the 9-pounder was crammed through a hole that a shot had just made. . . . As we fired so did they. A cloud of dust is all I remember : Brigadier Russell, Captain Ogilvie, and I were on our backs. Poor Russell had just been grazed on the back of the neck : the clods broken from the wall had knocked us over. Again and again we plied our gun with round shot,

Captain
Bourchier
and
Colonel
Biddulph
recon-
noitre the
roads.

Brigadier
Russell
wounded.

¹ We found Russell in a very uncomfortable position, exposed to a hot fire and closely surrounded by the enemy, who were holding the British Infantry Hospital and other buildings within a few yards of him.—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 344.

behind a charge of grape; they never again fired, and finally withdrew their gun."¹

Death of
Colonel
Biddulph.

On Brigadier Russell being disabled, Colonel Biddulph, "who hitherto had wandered about in a shower of bullets as if they had no power over him," assumed command. He organised a column to storm the hospital, and "as he was explaining his plans to Colonel Hale at the gate of the enclosure of the third bungalow a bullet struck him dead, passing through his brain, but previously going through Hale's hat."² Colonel Hale then assumed command. "At 4 o'clock P.M., covered by a quick fire from the 24-pounder howitzer at the gate, and a flight of shells from the mortars, he led his column from D. 3 enclosure into the gardens opposite, and so into the hospital, which was stormed and carried after a stubborn resistance." It was unfortunately thatched, and was soon set on fire by the missiles poured on it by the enemy. "From the heat alone it was impossible to remain there; Colonel Hale therefore formed up his men and withdrew them, in perfect order, to his original position." Then was done a brave act. A man of the storming column had been wounded and left in a garden for an hour and a half. A drummer stuck by him. When the column returned he dashed into the picket and reported the fact. Lieutenant Harington, Bengal

¹ "Eight Months' Campaign among the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 151.

² Hale seemed to have a charmed life: a round shot took his horse from between his legs; a bullet went through his hat, and a third grazed his heels.—*Ibid.*, p. 153. (Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, H.M.'s 82nd.)

Artillery, another officer of her Majesty's service whose name has not been recorded, a gunner, and the drummer pushed out under a very hot fire and brought in the wounded man. "As they left the picquet a round shot struck the ground under their feet." Lieutenant Harington was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Lieut.
Haring-
ton, Ben-
gal Artil-
lery,
awarded
the
Victoria
Cross.

The enemy, encouraged no doubt by the retirement of the extreme left, made a smart attack on the picquets covering the centre of the line. Sir Colin supported them with a company of her Majesty's 23rd and another of her Majesty's 53rd. "Not having any more infantry at my disposal, Captain Remmington's troop of Horse Artillery was brought up, and dashed right into the jungle with the leading skirmishers, and opened fire with extraordinary rapidity and precision."¹ "The enemy were beaten off, the fire was heavy, and the sight of the flashes of the cannon and musketry in the dusk of the evening was striking in the extreme."

Enemy
attack the
picquets
covering
the centre.

The operations on the 18th disclosed to Sir Colin that his force could do no more than hold their scattered posts, and that the proposed line of retirement by the road which ran from the Seunder Bagh to the Dilkoosha was impracticable. It entailed not only the retaking of the hospitals, but also the capture of the Imambara and a mosque which were commanded by the guns of the

¹ "I superintended this affair myself," wrote Sir Colin Campbell, "and I have particular pleasure in drawing your Lordship's attention to the conduct of this troop on this occasion, as an instance of the never-failing readiness and quickness of the Horse Artillery of the Bengal Service."—"State Papers," vol. iii. p. 360.

19th
November,
Sir Colin
Campbell
abandons
second line
of retire-
ment.

Kaiser Bagh. He therefore ordered on the morning of the 19th a fresh reconnaissance to be made of the villages from the back of the bungalows down to the bank of the canal. It was found that they contained a number of country roads, rough it is true, but sufficiently good for the transit even of heavy artillery. He determined to remove his guns along them, and to withdraw the garrison by the route along which he had advanced. He therefore commanded Colonel Ewart merely to hold the barracks, and Colonels Hale and Wells the bungalows—positions which covered his left rear. He had constructed a flying sap between the Engine House and Martin's House to screen the women and children from the fire of the Kaiser Bagh when they crossed the open space between the Engine House and the Moti Mahal. A naval gun commanded by Midshipman Lord Arthur Clinton was placed on the road between the Secunder Bagh and Moti Mahal in order to reply to any fire that opened on it. Then Sir Colin sent a note to Outram informing him that his arrangements for the withdrawal of the women and children, sick and wounded, had been completed, and conveyances would be sent for them.

The news of the abandonment of the Residency sent a shiver through the garrison. It seemed to those who had so long defended its crumbling walls an intolerable shame. They had done all men could do. They had kept at bay a vast host ; they had suffered pitifully ; they had seen their wives and children perish around them ; and to leave the spot

where these had died was a sore distress. "And now we must leave our little room, the scene of so much sorrow and suffering," wrote a widow, "and before night I shall pass the spot where my husband was killed, and where perhaps he found his grave." The men of the garrison were a ragged remnant, shadows of themselves, sinking under bad food, fever, and cholera, but they were willing to fight and to endure till they brought the defence to a more triumphant issue. Their gallant commander went to Outram and begged that the Banner of England, which, "shot through the staff or the halyard," they had ever raised anew, should not now be furled. Remove the women and children, the sick and wounded, but leave him one regiment, and he would hold the old Residency, and from its topmost roof the Banner of England should fly. Outram mentioned the offer to the Chief, who sternly refused it, and it required a bolder heart to refuse it than to storm the breach at San Sebastian. The command had gone forth, and it must be obeyed.

On the 18th of November the women were busy packing, but it was not an arduous task. "My worldly effects," wrote one of them, "can be put into a very small compass, since they consist merely of a few old clothes." The next day at noon the women and children left the intrenchment where for five months they had endured the most poignant sufferings. Some of them were conveyed in carriages, closely packed, many were seated on native carts, not a few walked. Passing through the Bailey Guard Gate, the Furreed Buksh, and

Removal
of the
women and
children
from the
Residency.

Chutter Munzil palaces, they came to the advanced battery. The line of fire from the Kaiser Bagh to Martin's House had to be crossed. The horses had been so long on siege fare "that they had forgotten the use of their legs and had no strength, and so came to a standstill every five minutes, invariably choosing the most dangerous parts of the road for their halt. At one place we were under so hot a fire that we got out and ran for our lives, leaving the vehicles to fate; and two natives who were helping to push behind were shot." From Martin's House they passed through the Court of the Moti Mahal, on the side of which they gained the high road leading to the Secunder Bagh. Here they were exposed to the enemy's guns on the other side of the river; and leaving the carriages they crept along the scarp past the exposed places. "In one spot we were passing a 24-pounder manned by some sailors of the Naval Brigade; they all called out to us to bend low and run as fast as we could; we had hardly done so when a volley of grape whizzed over our heads and struck a wall beyond." After an hour's tramp they reached the Secunder Bagh unhurt, where they were welcomed by the old Chief. He determined to keep them there till night fell, and then send them on in doolies, for the horses could not drag the vehicles through the sandy lanes. At 11 P.M. a long procession of litters started for the Dilkoosha; the women and children were borne along "in the most solemn silence; the only sounds were the tramp, tramp of the doolie bearers and the screaming of the jackals. It was

an awful time ; one felt as if one's life hung in a balance, with the fate we had so long dreaded ; but our merciful Father, who had protected us through so many and great dangers, brought us in safety to Dilkoosha, where we arrived about two in the morning." They found a shelter in a large tent, and being thoroughly worn out they soon fell asleep on the ground. They were come out of captivity, and the weary months of imprisonment were past, but many of them would awake to have to bear up alone without a husband, without a child. In their soiled and tattered garments Peel's coxswain said he thought they "looked a rough lot." The years roll away, but the golden tints of their courage and heroic devotion remain on the pages of history.

On the morning of the 20th Peel's heavy guns which were established in battery near Martin's House opened on the Kaiser Bagh. Under cover of their fire, which gradually assumed the character of a regular breaching and bombardment, the treasure, the food, and all the guns that were not destroyed were removed out of the Residency without the enemy's knowledge, his whole attention being concentrated on the defence of the Kaiser Bagh. On the 22nd three wide breaches yawned in its walls, and Sir Colin, having thus led the enemy to believe that immediate assault was contemplated, sent to Outram final directions silently to evacuate the Residency at midnight.

20th
November,
bombard-
ment of
the Kaiser
Bagh.

22nd
November.

A little after eleven the fourteen garrisons were silently withdrawn from the outposts. The name

With-
drawal of
the garri-
son.

of each man was called out¹ to see if all were present. Through the darkness came a low answer. Then a bright flame shooting upwards displayed the shattered Residency and the men leaning on their muskets. The hot metals from some of the guns which had been burst had set fire to the heap of wood used as a rampart,—a critical moment. But the enemy only continued their desultory musketry fire. The clock struck twelve. The order was given. And the illustrious garrison marched past Outram and Inglis, who stood at the Bailey Guard Gate. "All have passed, sir," reported the aide-de-camp. Outram waved his hand to Inglis to precede him. But Inglis at once said, "You will allow me, Sir James, to be the last, and to shut the gates of my old garrison." Outram at once yielded, and Inglis closed the gates. So ended the defence of the Residency at Lucknow.

The garrison, after passing the Clock Tower,

¹ The necessity of the precaution of calling out the names is illustrated by the fact that one officer had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of the enemy. "The hour fixed for our departure was midnight, and before this arrived many of the garrison laid down to take some rest, making sure of being awoke when the movement began. Among these was Captain Waterman of the 13th N.I. He fell asleep, and his friends failed to awake him. The troops had marched out of the Residency and had cleared the palaces altogether before he awoke. His consternation on awaking may well be imagined. He was alone in the abandoned position, and could discover no traces of his friends. Appalled by the horror of his position, he followed in the track of the retiring force as fast as he could, but not until he had left the old position far behind him did he overtake the rear-guard. The shock he had undergone was too great for him, and he long suffered from its effects."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Gubbins, pp. 416, 417.

turned sharp to the left and entered the Tehri Kotee enclosure, and passed in succession the palaces held by us. "All along we see files of ranks ready to join us, and here the Artillery Staff, there the Engineers, fall in. We have now left our defences, and glance up to the right towards the Kaiser Bagh to see if the enemy is visible. No; all is still, and not a shot is fired."¹ The high road is reached, and amidst the deepest silence Outram's column passed through Sir Colin's advanced posts to the Secunder Bagh and down the sandy tortuous lane through which the Chief had advanced. Then each exterior line gradually retired through its supports till all the ground as far as the Secunder Bagh was abandoned. There Hope's brigade with fifteen guns were drawn up, and Sir Colin was with them ready "to crush the enemy if he had dared to follow up the picquets." When Outram had reported that his force had withdrawn, and a few minutes had been given for the narrow lanes to be clear, Hope's brigade fell back and passed through the line. At that moment the enemy opened an artillery and musketry fire. All thought the retirement was discovered, and the enemy would come forth from the Kaiser Bagh and attack the retiring force. But Peel promptly sent a fire of rockets into the Kaiser Bagh and their fire ceased. Then the fifteen guns filed off, and Sir Colin sent orders by staff officers that the extreme posts on the left should make their way by a road which had been explored

¹ "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Gubbins, p. 416.

for them. He alone remained with a handful of infantry. Then when sufficient time had been given for the guns to get clear of the lanes and village "the infantry, who had been lying down, and gazing with anxious eyes, and ears on the stretch, in the direction of the enemy, quietly arose and filed off through the village with the Commander-in-Chief."

"Shortly before dawn every soldier was in the position allotted to him, either at the Dilkoosha, in front of it facing the canal, or at the Martinière, at which latter place Sir Colin and the 93rd were established, and warming themselves round fires, soon lighted on the terrace, in rear of that building."¹

Thus was accomplished the removal of the garrison from the Residency, a skilful movement which merits every praise. The sound judgment of Sir Colin Campbell was manifested in the foresight with which he examined and provided for every contingency. But not unto himself but to his troops he gave the praise. He issued a General Order on the 23rd of November thanking them for what they had done. He commended their patience and endurance. "Hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them, all ranks of this force have compensated for their small number in the execution of a most difficult duty by un-

¹ "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel Sir H. W. Norman, C.B., p. 30.

ceasing exertion." He reminded them how for six days the whole force had been "one outlying picket, never out of fire, and covering an immense extent of ground to permit the garrison to retire scathless and in safety, covered by the whole of the relieving force. That ground was won by fighting as hard as it ever fell to the lot of the Commander-in-Chief to witness, it being necessary to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks, and it is with the greatest gratification that his Excellency declares he never saw men behave better." And Sir Colin had seen the British soldier fight at San Sebastian and Vittoria. Alluding to the movement by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, he declared it to have been "a model of discipline and exactness, the consequence of which was that the enemy was completely deceived, and the force retired by a narrow tortuous lane, the only line of retreat open, and in the face of 50,000 enemies, without molestation."¹

In the hour of their success there fell on the soldiers a deep sorrow. On the 19th of November

Death of Havelock.

¹ In the last paragraph of the General Order Sir Colin Campbell stated: The Commander-in-Chief offers his sincere thanks to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., for the happy manner in which he planned and carried out his arrangements for the evacuation of the Residency of Lucknow." Sir James was greatly distressed to find the credit assigned to him when due to the Commander-in-Chief. Four years later in his official acknowledgment of the vote of the freedom of the City of London, Outram wrote: "The withdrawal of the Lucknow garrison, the credit of which is assigned to Sir James, was planned by Lord Clyde and effected under the protection of the troops immediately under his Lordship's command, Sir James Outram merely carrying out his Chief's orders.—"Life of Sir James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 276.

Havelock wrote to his wife : "Sir Colin has come up with some 5000 men and much altered the state of affairs. The papers of the 26th September came up with him announcing my elevation to the Commandership of the Bath for my first three battles. I have fought nine since." It was his last letter. Fatigue, exposure, cruel anxiety, and hard fare had impaired his strength, and the next day illness overtook him. As it rapidly increased, they carried him on the night of the 20th to the Dilkoosha, where a soldier's tent was pitched for him. The next day the enemy made a vigorous attack on the position : the bullets fell around his tent, and he was removed to a more sheltered position. He was greatly cheered by receiving the letters from England which had been accumulating at Cawnpore during the blockade at Lucknow, and he spoke of the loved ones at home. He knew that he would never see them again, and with the true calmness born of courage and strength he told those around him that his life was over. Friends came about him. On the morning of the 23rd Mr Gubbins went to inquire about him. "I was directed," he says, "to a common soldier's tent, which was pitched near the one in which we had found shelter. Entering it, I found the General's aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Hargood, and his medical attendant, Dr Collinson, lying down. They whispered to me in mournful accents the grievous news that Sir Henry's case was worse, and pointed to where he lay. It was in a doolie, which had been brought inside the tent, and served as a bed. The curtain on my side was

down. I approached, and found young Havelock seated upon the further side upon the ground by his dying father. His wounded arm still hung in a sling, but with his other he supplied all his father's wants. They told me that the General would allow no one to render him any attendance but his son. I saw that to speak was impossible, and sorrowfully withdrew."

In the evening Outram went to see him. "His tenderness was that of a brother—and he said, 'I have for forty years so ruled my life, that when death came I might face it without fear.'" On the morning of the 24th of November death came, and nobler life had never happier close. Never was a man more widely mourned or more honoured in his death. On Christmas Day 1857 news reached England of the Relief of Lucknow, and on January the 7th the joy of a nation was turned into mourning by the tidings of Havelock's death.

"Bold Havelock died,
Tender and great and good,
And every man in Britain
Says 'I am of Havelock's blood !'"¹

But Havelock belonged to a race that is not confined to a small island, and wherever our English is spoken the news of his death brought sorrow, and men said, "I am of Havelock's blood." Let us never forget that the flags in New York were hung at half-mast high when Havelock died. Such men as he are the true builders of our nation's greatness.

¹ "Havelock," Tennyson, Life, i. 243.

Soon after the death of their great Captain the march back to Cawnpore began, and the soldiers he had so often led to victory bore his body to the Alum Bagh. Next morning they interred him in the enclosure under the mango-tree which still spreads its branches over his tomb, and the cross carved on it by the hand of Outram was a few years ago still discernible.¹ “As long as the memory of great deeds, and high courage and spotless devotion, is cherished amongst his countrymen, so long will Havelock’s lonely tomb in the grave beneath the scorching eastern sky, hard by the vast city, the scene alike of his toil, his triumph, and his death, be regarded as one of the most holy of the many spots where the patriot soldiers lie.”

24th
November,
Sir Colin
with the
women and
children
moves to
Alum
Bagh.

When Sir Colin Campbell moved on with General Grant’s division to Alum Bagh on the afternoon of the 24th, he left Sir James Outram’s division in position at Dilkoosha, to prevent molestation of the immense convoy of the women and wounded which he had to transport. Sir James Outram closed up the next day without annoyance from the enemy. On the 26th the force halted in order that the necessary arrangements might be made for the equipment of a strong column, which was to remain under his command. His instructions were to remain

¹ To provide against future contingencies, Outram caused the grave to be smoothed over so as to escape detection. At the same time he directed such minute measurements to be taken as to lead to the recognition, when required, of the precise site. Moreover, to obviate all accidents, a memorandum of these measurements was forwarded to Calcutta for preservation among the archives of Government.

“Life of James Outram,” by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 278.

at Alum Bagh until circumstances should admit of the recapture of Lucknow, and to "hold the city" in check, in accordance with the desire of the Governor-General.¹

¹ On the 26th November 1857 the Commander-in-Chief telegraphed to the Governor-General : "I march to-morrow for Bunnee, with all the wounded, &c. I leave Sir James Outram in possession with a force, including the post of Alumbagh and Bunnee, of 4000 men, with twenty-two guns, of which four are heavy, besides ten mortars, namely, six 8-inch and four 5½ inch. If it is completed with a month's supplies and ammunition of every description (and I have denuded my movable columns of tents to supply his troops, which will be in a standing camp), I think his position a good one ; but I learn from him that he would rather have it farther back, near the Ganges. Sir James will probably address your Lordship on the subject. I beg only to report that your Lordship's instructions have been carried out to the letter." — "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 384.

CHAPTER XXXV

27th
November,
Sir Colin
Campbell
starts for
Cawnpore.

ON the morning of the 27th of November Sir Colin Campbell, with the women and children rescued from Lucknow, the wounded of his own and Outram's force, together with the treasure and artillery and engineer parks, started from Alum Bagh. The convoy extended along at least ten miles of road. To guard it Sir Colin had only three thousand men, amongst whom were the remnant of the gallant 32nd, who had so stoutly defended the Residency ; the sepoys, whose fidelity and courage can never be too highly appraised ; and the few native pensioners who had loyally responded to the call of Sir Henry Lawrence to come to our aid in the darkest hour. Slowly did the long train wend its way, and it was

Sir Colin's
force halts
at Bunnee.

sunset before Sir Colin passed Bunnee bridge and encamped two miles beyond. During the day had been heard the low tremulous sound which denotes heavy firing at a distance, and on reaching Bunnee the officer commanding that outpost reported that he had not only heard a cannonade during the day, but it had also been audible during the greater part of the previous day. No news had reached Sir Colin from Cawnpore for some time, and now the cause of the silence became evident : the Gwalior Contingent were attacking Windham. The contingency, of which he had never lost sight, and which

had influenced him in limiting his operations at Lucknow to the withdrawal of the garrison, had arisen. Sir Colin also knew how slender was the force at Windham's disposal, how strong the enemy were, and the grave consequences of Windham's not being able to hold his own. Cawnpore and the bridge of boats in the hands of the enemy, the situation of his force in Oudh would indeed be critical. To abandon the charge of the convoy was impossible. All must be pressed forward without delay. Orders were issued for a march on Cawnpore the following morning, and Cawnpore was thirty miles away.

At 9 A.M. on the 28th of November the column, preceded by the cavalry and artillery, resumed its march. At every step the sound of a heavy but distant cannonade became more distinct, but mile after mile was passed over and no news could be obtained. The anxiety and impatience of all became evident. "Louder and louder grew the roar ; faster and faster became the march ; long and weary was the way ; tired and footsore grew the infantry ; death fell on the exhausted wounded with a terrible rapidity ; the travel-worn bearers could hardly stagger along under their loads ; the sick men groaned and died—but still on, on, on was the cry." They had tramped on till noon without news, when a native suddenly jumped out of cover in a field and handed a letter in Greek characters to the staff at the head of the advanced-guard. It was addressed, "Most urgent, to General Sir Colin Campbell or any officer commanding troops on the Lucknow road." The letter was dated two days previously, and

28th
November,
Sir Colin
resumes
his march
to Cawn-
pore.

said that, unless affairs shortly took a favourable turn, the troops would have to retire into the intrenchment; that the fighting had been most severe; and that the enemy were very powerful, especially in artillery. It concluded by expressing a hope that the Commander-in-Chief would therefore see the necessity of pushing to their assistance with the utmost speed."¹ Soon he received two other notes in succession, announcing that "Windham was hard pressed." "That he had been obliged to fall back from outside the city into his intrenchment."² Three salvos were fired from the battery of the advanced-guard to intimate the approach of coming aid, but it is doubtful whether they were ever heard, or, if heard, understood. Sir Colin, leaving the infantry and convoy to follow, pushed forward with the cavalry and horse artillery. On reaching Mungulwar he left these behind with orders to Sir Hope Grant to pitch his camp there, and galloped on escorted only by some of his staff. Four miles lay between him and the river-bank. On they sped until they saw rising above the flat plain the city of Cawnpore, and the forks of flames which flashed across the sky told it was in the hands of the enemy: the roar of guns proclaimed that a battle was raging. The Ganges gilded with the rays of the setting sun lay before them, and

Sir Colin
and his
staff push
forward.

¹ "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B., p. 33.

² From His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Head-Quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, the 2nd December 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 373.

across its wide expanse they could trace a dark thread. The bridge of boats was safe. Harder they went till they reached the bank of the river, where they found a guard of British soldiers under a subaltern, who expressed his joy at seeing them and stammered out, "We are at our last gasp." Unfortunate man! Sir Colin flew at him as only Colin Campbell could when roused, and asked him how he dared to say of her Majesty's troops that they were "at their last gasp." Then spurring his horse, the veteran, followed by his staff, galloped over the bridge and down the road till they rode into some infantry defending the outworks of the intrenchment. As Sir Colin entered the gate of the fort the men of the Rifle Brigade recognised the well-known face and wiry figure they had so often seen in the Crimea, and sent forth cheer after cheer. They knew that Cawnpore was saved. The Commander-in-Chief now learnt the true state of affairs, and shortly after his arrival it was reported to him that Brigadier Carthew had fallen back from a very important outpost. The fighting for the night ceased, and Sir Colin, having remained with Windham for some time settling the operations for the morrow, rode across the river to his camp "into which all night the guns, stores, women and sick continued to stream."¹ Peel and his sailors, with the slow-paced bullocks required to drag the heavy 24-pounder, arrived only an hour before sunrise.

Sir Colin
reaches
the in-
tren-
ch-
ment.

¹ "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B., p. 34.

Sir Colin's
instructions to
Windham.

When Sir Colin was about to leave Cawnpore to relieve the Residency at Lucknow he sent General Windham three memoranda containing minute and precise instructions for his guidance. In the memorandum dated the 6th November 1857, Windham was told that his attention was to be "immediately directed towards the improvement of the defences and of the intrenchment." He was directed to maintain a careful watch over the movements of the Gwalior force, "which, it is supposed, will arrive at Calpee on Monday, the 9th instant." If this force should "show a real disposition to cross the Jumna, the garrison at Futtehpore should be withdrawn to Cawnpore." In such case a post was to be formed at Lohunda, the terminus of the railway from Allahabad, to consist of not less than five companies of infantry and four guns furnished from Allahabad. Parties proceeding from Lohunda to Cawnpore were to be of the strength of a battalion. But the bullock-train post was not to be discontinued "till positive information respecting the movement of the Gwalior Contingent renders such precautions absolutely necessary." Then General Windham was to make as great show as he could of the troops he might have at Cawnpore, "leaving a sufficient guard in the intrenchment, by encamping them conspicuously and in somewhat extended order, looking, however, well to his line of retreat." General Windham was specially directed not to "move out to attack unless compelled to do so by the force of circumstances, to save the bombard-

ment of the intrenchment." For the present the garrison at Cawnpore was to consist of about 500 men. The detachments of British infantry as they arrived were to be sent into Oudh by wings of regiments unless the General should be seriously threatened. "But of course in such case he will have been able to take the orders of the Commander-in-Chief." Windham was to be allowed to retain the Madras Brigade, on its arrival on the 16th of November, for a few days until the intentions of the Gwalior Contingent became developed.¹

Windham at once proceeded to carry out the intentions of the Commander-in-Chief with regard to placing the intrenchment in as complete a state of defence as possible. But it was impossible to remedy its chief defects. It never could in a military sense be made defensible. It was surrounded with numerous houses, gardens, and walls. Moreover, the old native city of Cawnpore with its narrow streets was only a few hundred yards distant; "consequently an enemy might (if the city was not defended) approach even with artillery, under cover, to within easy musket range of the works." Windham also with commendable promptitude sent forward, according to his instructions, the several detachments as they reached Cawnpore. On the 13th of November the Chief of the Staff wrote to him: "He (the Chief) desires me to thank you

¹ Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-General Windham, dated Cawnpore, 6th November 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. pp. 411, 412.

warmly for all you are doing to support him. The impulse you have given to everything is immense, and his expression to me is, 'I cannot be too thankful for having him at Cawnpore just now.' The troops you have sent on will be of incalculable advantage to us, as we shall be compelled to leave so many posts as we go along." Windham's spies, however, from day to day informed him that the Gwalior Contingent were gradually crossing the Jumna, and he had sound reason to think that the enemy would attack Cawnpore when Sir Colin was engaged in the difficult operation of rescuing the Lucknow garrison fifty miles away. He therefore represented the insufficiency of his force to protect the city if attacked, and on the 15th of November he received the following memorandum by the Chief of the Staff: "Major-General Windham will cause all detachments coming along the Grand Trunk Road to halt at Cawnpore until further orders."¹ The previous day the Madras Brigade, commanded by Brigadier Carthew, marched into Cawnpore. It consisted of a wing of the 27th, four 9-pounders manned by natives and two manned by Europeans. One of the regiments of which it had been composed, the 17th Native Infantry, had been left at Futtehpore to maintain the communication between Allahabad and Cawnpore. Day by day Windham's force began now to be increased by successive companies or drafts of the 34th, 82nd, 88th Regiments, and of the Rifle Brigade, and by the remaining wing of the 27th Madras Native

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 414.

Infantry. By the 25th of November it had been brought up to a strength of 1700 effective men.

Three days after the arrival of Carthew's Brigade, <sup>17th Nov-
ember.</sup> Windham took up a position beyond and to the west of the town near the junction of the Delhi and Calpee roads.¹ The force, under the command of Brigadier Carthew, consisted of detachments from the 34th, 82nd, 88th, and Rifle Brigade, and of the right wing of the 27th Madras Native Infantry with six guns. Windham now knew that the enemy had occupied two villages, Shewlie and Shirajpur, fifteen miles from Cawnpore, and that the main body was more than twenty-five miles off.² Between the two villages flowed the Ganges canal. Windham conceived the plan of transporting 1200 men one night up the canal by boats, taking his field-guns along the towing-paths, and landing at daylight. He would fall on the village which his latest intelligence revealed to be most open to attack. Having overwhelmed it, he would return to Cawnpore before the main body of the

¹ Sir John Adye, who was Windham's Brigade-Major, states in his "Defence of Cawnpore" that General Windham "had his main body encamped by sanction of the Commander-in-Chief *outside* of the city." At p. 19 he writes: "General Windham was to make as great a show as he could of the troops he might have at Cawnpore by encamping them conspicuously *outside*." But the word "*outside*" is not, as I pointed out to Sir John Adye, in the Memorandum for the guidance of General Windham ("State Papers," vol. ii. p. 411). General Windham's instructions were "to make as great show as he can of what troops he may have at Cawnpore, leaving a sufficient guard in the entrenchment, by encamping them conspicuously and in somewhat extended order, looking, however, well to his line of retreat." General Windham had no sanction to encamp "*outside of the city*."

² "The Defence of Cawnpore," by Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, C.R., p. 10.

enemy could attack it. Windham collected the boats for the purpose, and the tow-path was reconnoitred and found practicable for artillery. But he considered to attempt so forward a movement without special sanction would be acting contrary to the explicit instructions he had received. He therefore sent the plan to the Commander-in-Chief and requested permission to carry it out. The letters he sent announcing the approach of the Gwalior force, however, never reached the Commander-in-Chief.¹ On the 19th of November all communication with Lucknow suddenly ceased. Three days after, Windham learnt that the rebels had surprised and defeated a police force at Bunnee. Without hesitation he determined to weaken his small force in order to protect the Chief's communication, and on the morning of the 23rd of November he sent a wing of the 27th Madras Native Infantry, with two guns manned by Europeans, to reoccupy the bridge. That day a native arrived from Lucknow with a small note rolled in a quill. It was from a Commissariat officer with the Commander-in-Chief's column, requesting that ten days' provisions for the whole body should be sent at once to Lucknow. The request for ten days' provision suggested the fear that Colin Campbell was surrounded, and force was lent to the suggestion by the fact that no letter

¹ From His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Head-Quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, the 2nd of November 1857.—“State Papers,” vol. ii. p. 372.

or despatch had been received from him. General Windham now concluded that he could not return for some time, and he expected an attack by the enemy in force. He determined to strike the first blow. He considered the intrenchment and bridge could "be better defended by holding the town and its outskirts than in any other way. But I desired not only to use the town as a cover to the intrenchment, but also to prevent the town itself from being pillaged."¹ On the 24th Windham, leaving four companies of the 64th Regiment and a small force of artillery to guard the intrenchment, advanced his camp close to the bridge by which the Calpee road crosses the canal. He considered it a good position for carrying out his canal scheme, for he was in hope that every moment a message from Lucknow would come sanctioning its execution. His aim, as he tells us, was to attack in unconnected bodies the Gwalior Contingent. But the wily Mahratta commander who opposed him was no mean master of strategy. The moment he heard that Windham had advanced his camp he pushed forward his main body, and their leading division took up their position on the Pandoo rivulet about three miles to the south-west of Windham's camp. On the news reaching Windham of this movement, he, having neglected the opportunity of surprising the enemy without his Chief's orders, now with singular inconsistency resolved to fight when they were prepared and strongly posted. His intention was to strike the leading division a hard blow and

¹ "Redan Windham," by Major Hugh Pearse, p. 229.

then at once return, stand upon the defensive, and cover his bases.

On the morning of the 26th of November, having sent his camp equipage and baggage to the rear, Windham advanced to the attack. Four companies of the Rifle Brigade, under Colonel R. Walpole, went forward in skirmishing order on the right of the road. They were followed by four companies of the 88th Connaught Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Maxwell, and four light 6-pounder Madras guns, under Lieutenant Chamier. The extreme right was covered by about 100 native troopers. The 34th Regiment advanced at the same time on the left of the road—one wing in skirmishing order, the other in support with four 9-pounder guns. The 82nd was held in reserve in column.¹ The enemy, strongly posted on the other side of the dry bed of the rivulet, opened a heavy fire of artillery from siege and field guns, and a body of their cavalry charged the extreme left of the skirmishers. But a party of the 34th Regiment, forming square, smote them with a crashing volley and sent them flying back. The troops continued their advance, charging as they went; the bed of the rivulet was crossed, the position carried with a rush, and a village more than half a mile in its rear was rapidly cleared. The mutineers, in their quick retreat, left two 8-inch iron howitzers and

¹ From Major-General C. A. Windham to His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, dated Cawnpore, 30th November 1857.—“State Papers,” vol. ii. p. 376.

“The Defence of Cawnpore,” by Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, C.B., p. 19.

one 6-pounder gun on the ground. At this point Windham, apparently for the first time, became aware that the main force of the enemy was near at hand. He writes in his despatch : " Observing from a height on the other side of the village that the enemy's main body was at hand, and that the one just defeated was their leading division, I at once decided on retiring to protect Cawnpore, my intrenchments, and the bridge over the Ganges. We accordingly fell back, followed, however, by the enemy up to the bridge over the canal."

Windham encamped for the night on the open ground across the Calpee road immediately in front of some brick - kilns.¹ Between him and the intrenchment lay the city.² A short note had reached him from the Chief of the Staff informing him that all was well, and that Sir Colin's force was returning at once to Cawnpore. Windham now hoped that the blow he had inflicted on the leading division would check the advance of the main body of the enemy till the Commander-in-Chief arrived. But Tantia Topee also knew from the mutineers

¹ "There were several topses of trees near the camp, but it was as open and free a space as could be found, considering the restricted choice which the circumstances allowed."—"The Defence of Cawnpore," by Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, C.B., p. 21.

² "To show that this was a long cherished idea of mine, I wrote on the 10th November to the Chief of the Staff, pointing out certain brick kilns just without the town as offering the best line of defence. In his reply to me he says (extract of letter, dated 11th November 1857) : 'Having not had a moment of time to spare when I was at Cawnpore, I am not able to give an opinion on the military position there. But it appears to me that if your retreat is secured, it is a great advantage to prevent the pillage of the city.'—"Redan Windham," by Major Hugh Pearse, p. 229.

who had left Lucknow that Colin Campbell was returning. He considered that Windham would not have fallen back after a success unless he was weak, and he determined to crush him before assistance reached him. Tantia's force amounted to about fourteen thousand disciplined soldiers and eleven thousand irregulars ; his opponent's to about seventeen hundred. He had sixty or seventy guns : Windham only ten. Windham also laboured under the disadvantage of being able to get no accurate information. "The spies feared to venture out ; several during the previous days had returned horribly maimed, with their arms, ears, and noses cut off. There was no cavalry to perform outpost duty and bring in intelligence."

At daybreak on the 27th Windham's small force were under arms. But there was no sign of the enemy. The natives brought intelligence that they had not crossed the canal in strength, and that their artillery was on the other side of it. Windham, however, though far from suspecting his real peril, took the additional precaution of ordering up two 24-pounders, drawn by bullocks and manned by seamen, commanded by Lieutenant Hay, R.N.

About 10 A.M., when reconnoitring from the top of a house, a heavy cannonade on his right flank and the roar of guns on his front revealed to him the gravity of his situation. The enemy had attacked him on both quarters. He sent at once Brigadier Carthew with the 34th, two companies of the 82nd, and four 6-pounder guns to protect his right and defend his approaches to the town by the Bithoor

road. Concluding that the flank attack would be the one most vigorously pressed,—for, if successful, it opened the easiest access to the intrenchment,—he himself galloped there to watch the operations, leaving Colonel Walpole, who commanded the Rifle Brigade, to hold the enemy in front. Besides the two battalions of the Rifle Brigade, Colonel Walpole had the 88th Regiment, two 9-pounder guns, two 24-pounder howitzers, under Captain D. S. Greene, Royal Artillery, and the two 24-pounder guns manned by seamen of the *Shannon*. To the right of him, in a wood midway between his position and that occupied by Carthew, was posted the main body of the 82nd.

The flank attack was well met and resisted by the 34th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly and the Madras Battery under Lieutenant Chamier, together with a small portion of the 82nd under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson. The enemy's fire having been silenced, Windham, after the lapse of an hour, returned to the front, where he found Walpole sustaining a hard conflict. The 24-pounder guns had advanced to meet the enemy, and after a short time came in sight of them. The enemy fired the first shot from a gun on the road, but as soon as our guns replied they opened a hot fire with grape and canister from batteries on either side of it. When Windham arrived he found that not only was the enemy's fire incessant, but also indications that his left as well as his right was threatened. To check the movement, he turned one of the naval guns in that direction. But the

contest was hopeless. The enemy's guns were superior in numbers and calibre. Then our ammunition began to fail and the bullock-drivers to desert. Windham issued orders for the brigade to fall back on the brick-kilns, and at the same time he sent for the 34th to reinforce him. He also directed Carthew to fall back on the brick-kilns.¹ No sooner had the front brigade begun to retire than the enemy advanced in numbers, covering their advance by a brisk fire. Windham intended, as soon as the enemy was reported to have crossed the canal, to have his baggage and camp equipage "removed, and cover its removal (so short a distance had it to go) by holding the village of Sesamhow in his immediate right front, adjacent to the wood, in which had been placed the main body of the 82nd. The village was, however, given up without a struggle, the strength of the position lost, and endless confusion created."² When

¹ Captain Drury, who was Brigadier Carthew's brigade-major on this occasion, thus describes the situation in a letter to a friend at Madras : "The other position" (Windham's) "of the force had not fared so well, and the General sent for the 34th to strengthen the encampment. Shortly afterwards we were ordered to return to the encampment and occupy some brick-kilns immediately in its rear. This order was repeated, and it was not until the second time that we commenced falling back to the place directed. This order was a grave error. General Windham says he sent a counternand afterwards. That never came."

² Lord Clyde in a letter, dated 25th December 1857, wrote as follows to His Royal Highness, the Commander-in-Chief : "Lieutenant-Colonel . . . misconducted himself on the 26th and 27th November in a manner which has rarely been seen amongst the officers of Her Majesty's service ; his conduct was pusillanimous and imbecile to the last degree, and he actually gave orders for the retreat of his own regiment and a portion of another, in the very face of the orders of his General, and when the troops were not seriously pressed by the

Carthew reached the brick-kilns he found the tents of the encampment had been struck, the heavy baggage was lying in disorder on the ground, and the beasts to carry them away had been driven off.¹ At that time an order reached General Dupuis to retire on the intrenchment.

Windham, after telling General Dupuis to hold the brick-kilns, had galloped back to see how matters were going at the intrenchment and on the right flank. He had not proceeded far when he met a staff officer, who told him that the mutineers were in possession of the lower part of the city, and were attacking the intrenchment. They had taken advantage of his having weakened his right. Fortunately at that critical moment there arrived by forced marches from Futtehpore a detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade. Windham, sending orders to General Dupuis to retire to the Fort, put himself at their head, and drove the enemy from the lower part of the town. He then riding to the main body

enemy. The consequence was, the men became excited, and a state of things arose which Major-General Windham could not control, though he used his best efforts to meet the difficulty."—"The Diary of Sir G. A. Windham," p. 232.

¹ "I now come to a criticism that I consider well worthy of an answer. It is this, 'Why did Windham not send his baggage to the rear on the morning of the 27th? It was an error his not having done so' . . . My reply is very short and simple, namely, 'I think it was an error.' It must not, however, be supposed that I *forgot* to do this; on the contrary, I had, at three o'clock that very morning, passed an order directing all the baggage and camp equipage to be taken to the island in the Ganges, just abreast the entrenchment. I deeply regret having rescinded that order shortly after its issue."—*Ibid.*, p. 230.

ordered Carthew to return to the right with two companies of the 88th and four 6-pounders, and occupy the theatre which lay about a quarter of a mile south of the intrenchment, and was filled with stores and clothing for the troops. Carthew, after a sharp short bayonet tussle with the enemy, gained the Bithoor road, where he found their guns, which at once unlimbered and opened fire. They were quickly silenced by Chamier's 6-pounders. He then fell back unmolested on the theatre, and after barricading a bridge which spanned a deep and narrow ravine in his front, he bivouacked on a road near it for the night.

Meanwhile the retreat of the main body had become a rout. Men, horses, camels, elephants, and bullock-waggons made a rush for the gate of the intrenchment. "Doolie after doolie," observes an officer who was present, "with its red curtains down, concealing some poor victim, passed on to the hospitals. The poor fellows were brought in, shot, cut, shattered, and wounded in every imaginable way; and as they went by raw stumps might be seen hanging over the sides of the doolies, literally like torn butcher-meat." A large store of camp-equipage, saddlery, and harness had to be abandoned in the retreat from the camp to the intrenchment. Five hundred of our tents fed the enemy's bonfire that night.

During the retirement one of the heavy naval 24-pounders had been overturned in a narrow street. The enemy pressed too close for the soldiers to remove it. At night Windham sent 100 men

of the 64th under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, R.A., accompanied by a few sailors, to bring it back. It was a dangerous and difficult task to perform in a city crowded with the enemy. How it was done is well told in the words of the officer of the Naval Brigade who was present. "We marched off under the guidance of a native who said he would take us to the spot where the gun lay. We told him he should be well rewarded if he brought us to the gun ; but if he brought us into a trap, we had a soldier by him 'at full cock' ready to blow his brains out. We passed our outside pickets, and entered the town through very narrow streets without a single nigger being seen, or a shot fired on either side. We crept along : not a soul spoke a word—all was still as death ; and after marching in this way into the very heart of the town, our guide brought us to the very spot into which the gun was capsized. The soldiers were posted on each side, and then we went to work. Not a man spoke above his breath, and each stone was laid down quietly. When we thought we had cleared enough, I ordered the men to put their shoulders to the wheel and gun, and when all was ready, and every man had his pound before him, I said 'Heave !' and up she righted. We then limbered up, called the soldiers to follow, and we marched into the intrenchments with our gun without a shot being fired. When we got in, the Colonel returned us his best thanks, and gave us all an extra ration of grog : we then returned to our guns in the battery."

During the evening General Windham held a consultation with the senior officers with a view to a night attack on the enemy, but in absence of trustworthy information as to the position of their artillery the idea was abandoned. It was, however, decided that on the following day, Colonel Walpole and his Rifle Brigade, with five companies of the Rifle Brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel C. Woodford, two companies of the 82nd Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, and four guns, two 9-pounders, manned by Madras gunners, and two 24-pounder howitzers manned by Sikhs under Lieutenant Greene, should defend the advanced portion of the town which lay to the left rear of the brick-kilns, and was separated from them and the remainder of the city by the canal. The 88th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell was to defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges on the left of the canal, and support Colonel Walpole if required. Brigadier N. Wilson with the 64th Regiment was to hold the intrenchment and establish a strong picquet at the Baptist chapel on the extreme right. Brigadier Carthew, with the 34th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly and four Madras guns, was to hold the Bithoor road in advance of the Baptist chapel, receiving support from the picquet there if wanted.

On the morning of the 28th of November the enemy renewed simultaneously their attack on both sides of the city. On the left Colonel Walpole, after a well-contested fight, drove back the mutineers and captured two 18-pounder guns. On the right the

Windham's
action on
the 28th
of Novem-
ber.

troops were not so fortunate, and the action continued all day. Carthew had at daylight proceeded according to instructions, with her Majesty's 34th Regiment, two companies of her Majesty's 82nd Regiment, and four guns, to take up a position at the Racket Court, some little distance beyond the bridge, which he had held the previous evening. When within a few hundred yards of his destination he received instructions through the Assistant Quartermaster-General, Captain MacCrea, to fall back on the bridge and defend the Bithoor road. He consequently retired, leaving a company of her Majesty's 34th Regiment to occupy the front line of broken-down native infantry huts and another company in their support in a brick building about 100 yards to their rear. He then detached a company of her Majesty's 34th under Captain Steurd to the right to occupy a vacant house, to man the garden walls and the upstair verandah. With the remainder of the 34th and four guns he halted at the bridge, placed two guns on it and barricaded it. He then sent two companies of the 34th under Lieutenant-Colonel Simpson to defend the road from Allahabad and prevent the egress of the enemy from the town towards the intrenchment. "This picket I subsequently strengthened with two of my guns which could not be worked on the bridge."

Meanwhile the enemy commenced a warm cannonade against the front line and the bridge; the 34th and 82nd in return plied their muskets with considerable effect, and Chamier worked his small guns with great vigour, but the enemy's 18-pounders

overmatched them. For two hours the rebels sent their shot and shell sweeping through our position. It was about noon when Captain MacCrea arrived with orders from Windham for Brigadier Carthew to advance and attack the enemy's infantry and guns. He was to convey the same instructions to her Majesty's 64th, and both parties were to advance at the same time.

On receiving his orders Carthew pushed on with Chamier's two guns and a company of the 34th from the bridge, taking as he went forward the company stationed on his right in the "upstair house" and the company occupying the broken huts (with its support) on his left. The road after crossing the bridge ran through a line of huts into a wider plain traversed by a watercourse. Carthew, after clearing the front line of huts, pushed his force across the plain with the intention of charging the guns posted at the other end, from which the enemy sent forth a shower of grape. When the men of the 34th had got almost within a hundred yards of the guns, Captain Steurd, who was gallantly leading, fell wounded through the thigh. Leeson, the adjutant, took his place. But his task was an impossible one. The enemy swept the road with their guns, and their infantry from broken ground and huts sent a shower of musket balls. To gain cover from grape and musketry the men lay down in the watercourse. Carthew himself kept his saddle and remained in the middle of the parade, a conspicuous mark to the enemy. But to charge the enemy's guns without support could not be done.

He swiftly brought up Chamier's two guns, and they unlimbering replied to the enemy's fire, and splendidly served by the Madras gunners they quickly silenced it and compelled the enemy to withdraw their guns far to the rear. But Carthew had no cavalry to follow them, and his skirmishers' support and right picquet having resumed their original positions, he returned with the guns to the bridge.

Captain MacCrea, taking with him forty men of a company of her Majesty's 82nd to strengthen the 64th, had gone to Brigadier Wilson and directed him to advance parallel with Carthew.¹ As soon as the orders reached him Wilson gave the command, and the 64th moved forward up a ravine commanded by high ground in front as well as on the right and left. From their coign of vantage the enemy poured upon them a murderous fire of musketry, and from the ridge in front four 9-pounders played upon them. But the 64th pushed on slowly, driving back by their steady fire the front line of the enemy, who disputed every inch of ground. The crest of the ridge was reached. Then, led with the unflinching zeal and boldness which the British officer displays in battle, the men charged the guns. Major Stirling fell gloriously, in

¹ Windham's despatch erroneously states, "Brigadier Wilson thought proper, prompted by zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns placed in front of Brigadier Carthew." The guns upon which Brigadier Wilson advanced were nearly half a mile from the guns in front of Brigadier Carthew's troops. He attacked them on the orders of Windham conveyed by Captain MacCrea. — "State Papers," vol. ii. pp. 307, 380.

front of the battery, fighting hand to hand with the enemy, of whom he killed several. Captain Murphy was shot through the heart, and seemed to bound from his saddle, falling heavily on his head. Captain MacCrea also fell dead. Captain Saunders, who after the death of Major Stirling became the senior officer present,¹ dashed forward, followed by Lieutenants Parsons and O'Grady. Parsons instantly received a severe wound in his sword arm. O'Grady cheered the men on, waving his cap in the air, until he reached one of the guns, and he laid his hand on it as a token of its capture. In a second he and Saunders were engaged in a hand-to-hand combat with a host of the enemy. The men, taking up the cheer, rushed forward to their support. The old Brigadier, who had begged that morning to be allowed to lead the men of his old regiment, pushed on his horse, which had been wounded in two places, to the front, shouting, "Now, boys, you have them!" They were his last words. A bullet passed through his body, penetrating his left lung. Some of the soldiers carried him to the rear, but though mortally wounded he continued to urge his men to maintain the honour of the corps. But they could not hold their ground. The enemy's cavalry, together with an overwhelming force of infantry, came down upon them, and they were compelled to retire to the intrenchment.

¹ After the death of Major Stirling, Captain Saunders became the senior officer present, and his conspicuous gallantry to-day deserves not only honourable mention, but such reward as a soldier covets.—"From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in her Majesty's Indian Service, vol. ii. p. 278.

Meanwhile the enemy were pressing Carthew hard. They had occupied in large numbers the houses, garden-walls, and the church on his left. A company of the 64th was sent through the gardens to dislodge the enemy and drive them from the church. They succeeded, but they were too few to hold the position won by the bayonet. Carthew then concentrated all his force on both flanks of the bridge, and with his two guns kept up a heavy fire. About six o'clock a large body of the enemy made a rush at the bridge. "Then came a fight between 1500 tired Englishmen and 5000 or more of fresh sepoy's, for these were the reserve. There are some 20,000 of them here. Please goodness, I hope never to see such a hail-storm of bullets again. I saw men fall on every side of me; splinters hit me, pieces of earth from bullets, and there we were obliged to stay. Our orders were to keep the bridge as long as possible: the keeping consisted in standing still while a hurricane of bullets passed through us." The rebels now brought up a gun into the churchyard, which enfiladed the bridge at a distance not exceeding 150 yards, while our guns could not bear on their position. Carthew was therefore compelled to fall back about 100 yards so as to command the bridge and the road leading to the town. The enemy continued to increase and work round his rear by the left flank. Officers and men were falling fast. Carthew applied for a reinforcement, "but by the time they arrived night had set in, and I now considered it prudent to retire with the

remainder of my force into the intrenchment, which was done with perfect regularity, the reinforcement of rifles protecting the rear."

"Although for some time earnestly advised to retire, I refrained from doing so until I felt convinced that from the increasing numbers of the enemy, the fatigue of the men after three days' hard fighting, and my own troops firing in the dark into each other, the position was no longer tenable, and that consequently it became my painful duty to retire."¹

Carthew's retirement was most unhappy. It gave the enemy the command of the riverside, put the bridge in the greatest jeopardy, and enabled them to seize and burn the Assembly Rooms, which had been converted into a great store-house containing all the property of the regiments which had advanced at different times to Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell, on the receipt of Brigadier Carthew's

¹ From Brigadier M. Carthew, Commanding Madras Troops in Bengal, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Cawnpore Division, dated Cawnpore, 18th December 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 368.

"I have not the slightest hesitation," wrote, on the 11th December 1857, Lieutenant-Colonel Simpson of the 34th to Brigadier Carthew, "in giving my opinion about the brigade retiring from the position we held on the bridge on the evening of the 28th November. It is my firm conviction that you had no other alternative,—that if you had not retired, the brigade would have been cut off, as the enemy were completely outflanking us on our left. By your orders I sent two companies of this regiment to check them, which they did for the moment, but could not make a stand, as they in turn were quite outflanked on their left. When the two officers commanding these companies (officers in whom I have the greatest confidence) came back and told me what was going on, and from what I saw myself, I spoke to Colonel Kelly, Colonel Gwilt, and one or more of the regiment, and I myself, and I think others, told you that if we did not retire we should be cut off, you then reluctantly gave the order to retire."

report on his defence of the bridge and Bithoor road, expressed a strong disapproval of that officer's retrograde movement. A memorandum by the Chief of the Staff, dated the 9th of December, states : " With respect to these occurrences, his Excellency feels it necessary to make two remarks. In the first place, no subordinate officer, when possessing easy means of communication with his immediate superior, is permitted, according to the principles and usages of war, to give up a post which has been intrusted to his charge, without a previous request for orders, after representation might have been made that the post had become no longer tenable.

" It might have occurred to Brigadier Carthew that when Major-General Windham proceeded to reinforce the post according to his first request, instead of ordering the garrison to retire, it was the opinion of the Major-General that to hold it was an absolute necessity.

" His Excellency refrains from remarking on the very serious consequences which ensued on the abandonment of the post in question.

" The night which had arrived was more favourable to the Brigadier for the purpose of strengthening his position than it was to an enemy advancing on him in the dark ; at all events there were many hours during which a decision could have been taken by the highest authority in the intrenchment, whether the post should be abandoned or not, without much other inconvenience than the mere fatigue of the garrison.

"The Commander-in-Chief must make one more remark. Brigadier Carthew in the last paragraph of his letter talks about his men firing into one another in the dark. His Excellency does not see how this could occur if the men were properly posted, and the officers in command of them duly instructed as to their respective positions."

At the time the memorandum was written the Commander-in Chief was under the impression that Brigadier Carthew had retired from his post without orders, and that no discretionary powers had been given him. Windham, in his despatch describing the operations of the 27th and 28th, merely stated, "Brigadier Carthew of the Madras Native Infantry had a most severe and strong contest with the enemy from morning till night; but I regret to add that he felt himself obliged to retire at dark." Carthew himself had given no hint in his report that he had due authority from the Major-General to retire when the post no longer became tenable. He, however, pointed out this fact in a letter addressed to the Chief of the Staff, dated the 15th of December.¹ He wrote: "I received a verbal message during that day, either from the late Captain MacCrea or Lieutenant Budgeon (I cannot recollect which), that when I could hold out no longer, I was to retire to the intrenchment, where her Majesty's 64th Regiment was located.

¹ From Brigadier M. Carthew, Commanding Madras Troops, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, dated Cawnpore, 15th December 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 406.

"I cannot call to mind receiving any express instructions to that effect from Major-General Windham himself, but I am under the impression that the Major-General, on the previous evening, made some such remark as 'Well, gentlemen, when we can hold out no longer we must retire to the intrenchment.'

"Under that impression I acted during the day and made my retrograde movement into the intrenchment in the evening, and I trust his Excellency will be able on this explanation to exonerate me from blame and censure in that particular respect."

Sir Colin Campbell promptly and handsomely exonerated Brigadier Carthew from blame. A letter to the Government of India, dated the 22nd of December, states, "Sir Colin Campbell conceived it to be an imperative duty to mark what he considered to be a violation of one of the first principles of war.

"It appears now, however, that his Excellency's impression was erroneous, and it is a matter of the sincerest regret to him that his having acted under such erroneous impression should have been detrimental to Brigadier Carthew, and given pain to that meritorious officer.

"The Commander-in-Chief directs me to request that you will solicit the permission of his Lordship in Council that his memorandum of the 9th instant may be considered null and void, and if it should have been sent forward to the Government at Madras, he begs that this further correspondence

may be despatched to the [same] destination in justice to Brigadier Carthew."¹

The disasters which overtook Windham added greatly to the difficulties of the Commander-in-Chief, and severely tried his patience and temper. In his first despatch to the Government of India, dated the 2nd of December, Sir Colin curtly remarks, "Major-General Windham's despatch relating to the operations conducted under his command is enclosed," and he makes no comment on it except that he had not received Windham's letters announcing the approach of the Gwalior force. Three weeks later, however, he forwarded another despatch expressing a regret at an "omission" in

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 405.

After the above account was written the original draft of Brigadier Carthew's "detailed report of the operations of the forces placed under my command on the 26th, 27th, and 28th ultimo" has come into my private possession from a private source. As the report is not to be found in the military records, I was precluded from treating it as an official document which ought to be printed in "Selections from State Papers preserved in the Military Department." It gives a most interesting account of the operations, and General Chamier, who commanded the Madras guns, vouches for its accuracy. Brigadier Carthew writes: "Officers and men were falling fast, and the darkness rendered it difficult to distinguish friend from foe. I had received instructions to fall back should my position become untenable, and was now unwillingly obliged to avail myself of the authority to retire." It is more than probable that this report was forwarded to General Windham, and having been returned by him for alteration, Brigadier Carthew submitted his report of the 1st of December, in which he omits the express statement that he had "received instructions to fall back." This would account for Sir Colin Campbell having so promptly accepted the explanation given by Brigadier Carthew in his letter, dated 15th December, which by itself is hardly satisfactory, and also for the Commander-in-Chief's prompt and handsome apology. General Windham's letter, dated the 10th December 1857, is eminently unsatisfactory.

his former despatch, and adding, "I desire to make my acknowledgment of the great difficulties in which Major-General Windham, C.B., was placed during the operations he describes in his despatch, and to recommend him and the officers whom he notices as having rendered him assistance to your Lordship's protection and good offices." Lord Canning shortly afterwards issued a General Order, containing an echo of Sir Colin's despatch. General Windham, having continued for a time with the Commander - in - Chief, assumed command of the Umballa District, and was removed from the operations of the war.

CHAPTER XXXVI

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL's first care was to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge. At dawn on the 29th of November all the heavy guns attached to General Grant's Division under Captain Peel, R.N., and Captain Travers, R.A., were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges in order to keep down the fire of the enemy from the opposite side directed at the bridge. This was done very effectually, while Brigadier Hope's Brigade with some field artillery and cavalry were ordered to cross the bridge and take position near the old Dragoon lines. No sooner had the leading file stepped upon the first boat than the enemy redoubled their exertions to prevent the passage. The round shot plunged into the river on every side, but the bridge remained unstruck. The moment the column reached the other side the enemy opened on it with musketry at very close range. Through a wave of shot, shell, and bullets it pushed on towards the intrenchment, passed round its front, crossed the canal, and turning to the right emerged on an open plain, where it took up a position facing the city, its right resting on a point near the intrenchment, its left stretching away towards the Grand Trunk Road. The Commander-in-Chief then transferred his headquarters across

the river, leaving Brigadier Inglis to protect the convoy till all had passed. At 5.30 P.M. the officers in the intrenchment, as they looked over the earth-works, saw a strange and wondrous sight. "A procession of human beings, cattle and vehicles, six miles long, is coming up to the bridge of boats below the intrenched fort. It is about sunset. The variety of colour in the sky and on the plain, the bright costumes and black faces of the native servants, the long train of cavalry, infantry, women, children, sick, wounded, bearers, camp-followers, horses, oxen, camels, elephants, waggons, carts, palanquins, doolies, advancing along the road; and here, within the intrenchment, the crowd of camels and horses, the rows of cannon, heaps of shot, piles of furniture, &c., in the foreground, all seen between two pillars of this verandah, which is raised eight or ten feet from the ground, produce a very picturesque effect. But the groans of the poor fellows, on charpoys,¹ and on the floor behind and around me, dissolve the fascination of the scene."² During the night and till six o'clock the ensuing evening the passage continued. About midnight the women and children reached the Dragoon barracks, and were located in a small space between two buildings not far from the mouldering remains and riddled walls of the position which Wheeler had held so long. "My feelings on entering Cawnpore," writes a woman, "were indeed most painful. The moon

¹ A native bed.

² "From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in her Majesty's Indian Service, vol. ii. p. 285.

was bright, and revealed to us the sad spectacle of ruined houses, trees cut down, or branches stripped off, everything reminding us of the horrors that had been enacted in the place, and making us feel thoroughly miserable." The next day, owing to the fire of the enemy, the women and children were moved to the infantry barracks, "where there was plenty spare ground," and "the little ones were romping and laughing in the shade as merrily as if they were in Merry England."

By the occupation of the plain beyond the canal Sir Colin reopened our communication with Allahabad. The enemy, however, still held the city and line of canal, and they could not be attacked until the large convoy from Lucknow had been sent under a suitable escort to Allahabad. "It was," as Sir Colin writes, "precisely one of those cases in which no risk must be run." His enforced inactivity tended to give the rebels confidence, and on the morning of the 1st of December the enemy opened fire on the camp with shrapnel, by which Captain Cornwall, Sergeant M'Intyre, and five privates of the 93rd Highlanders were all severely wounded. Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart also had his left arm shattered by a small round shot. On the following day the rebels again cannonaded the camp very smartly, but they had to withdraw their guns to a distance, as the General Gunj, an old bazaar of very considerable extent along the canal in front of the line of our camp, was occupied by Brigadier Greathed's Brigade, and he was supported by Peel's heavy guns and Bourchier's field battery.

1st De-
cember.

The enemy, however, continued to fire incessantly every day on the camp. They opened with a field battery upon the Commander-in-Chief's tent, whose position they had discovered, though it was a common bell one, and in no way calculated to attract attention. Shot and shell constantly fell around him, "wounding his orderly's horse and two bullocks, and passing through the tent of one of his aides-de-camp : he would not move an inch." Late on the night of the 3rd the convoy which had given Sir Colin so much anxiety, "including the families and half the wounded," was despatched, escorted by a strong detachment. He was now free to attack the enemy, but he held his hand, for he was afraid that the Gwalior Contingent when beaten might follow the convoy. On the 4th the rebels made an unsuccessful attempt to burn the bridge by means of fire rafts, and on the following day they attacked our left picket with artillery and shoved infantry round our left flank. But after two hours' cannonading they were compelled to retire by our artillery. Sir Colin now knew that the women and children were approaching the place where they were to take the rail to Allahabad, and he made his arrangements for a general attack on the enemy next day.

The position which they held was one of great strength. Their left occupied the whole cantonment from which General Windham's posts had been principally assailed. The ground is high, studded with trees, and much intersected with ravines; it was also then covered with ruined

*Great
strength
of enemy's
position.*

bungalows and public buildings which afforded admirable shelter. Their centre was in the city itself, and they lined the houses and bazaars overhanging the canal which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position. The narrow winding streets were singularly susceptible of defence, and the principal thoroughfares were afterwards discovered to be barricaded. Their right stretched away behind the canal some distance beyond where the Grand Trunk Road crosses it. The bridge over it and some brick-kilns and mounds of brick in its front were held by them. Two miles in rear of the right, where the Calpee road crosses the plain, was pitched the camp of the Gwalior Contingent. The position of the enemy was strong on the left, on account of the nature of the ground and the ruined buildings: they were almost impregnable in the centre: not so on the right, because it was an open plain with only the canal—no serious impediment—intervening. That was his vulnerable point. Thither, therefore, Sir Colin determined to throw himself with all his weight. No assistance could come to it on account of the town walls, which were an effective obstacle to the movement of any troops from the left and centre to the right. They also afforded cover to our attacking columns. Having defeated the enemy's right, Sir Colin's design was to seize the camp of the Gwalior Contingent, establish himself upon its line of retreat, and separate it from the Bithoor force and defeat the two bodies in detail. His force amounted to 5000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 35 guns. Against him

was an army of 25,000 men mainly composed of well-disciplined and well-equipped soldiers with about 45 guns. On the 16th of December, at 5 o'clock in the morning, the camp was awakened by the bagpipes playing "Hey, Johnny Cope, are you wauken yet?" and the trumpets sounding *reveille*. At seven the tents were struck, the baggage animals loaded and driven under a guard to the deep ravines leading down to the river. Sir Colin then explained his views to commanding officers, as usual from a memorandum carefully prepared, with a clearness none could mistake. Brigadier Greathed's Brigade, consisting of her Majesty's 8th Foot and the 2nd Punjab Infantry, reinforced, was detailed to hold the same ground opposite the enemy's centre which he had been occupying since the 2nd. Walpole's Brigade, consisting of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions, Rifle Brigade, and a detachment of her Majesty's 38th Foot, assisted by Captain Smith's field battery, Royal Artillery, was directed to pass the bridge immediately to the left of Brigadier Greathed's position, advance skirting the walls of the town, and prevent any of the enemy issuing from its gates in aid of the right—whilst from their left Hope's Brigade, consisting of the 53rd Foot, 42nd and 93rd Highlanders, and 4th Punjab Infantry, and Inglis's Brigade, consisting of the 23rd Fusiliers, 32nd and 82nd Foot, were to attack the brick mounds fronting the enemy's bridge and, carrying them and the bridge, were to push on to the Calpee road. In order to induce the belief that the attack was to be made from his position, Windham was ordered to

open a heavy bombardment on the enemy's left and centre.

Sir Colin Campbell's action at Cawnpore, 6th December.

At 9 A.M. Windham opened his batteries and was promptly answered by the enemy. For two hours the artillery duel continued, and a constant shower of missiles was poured into the town, slaying many in its crowded narrow streets. At 11 A.M. the whole force, except Greathed's Brigade, was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of our old cavalry lines, and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy. The tremendous cannonade from the intrenchment having slackened, the order for the attack was given. Greathed, advancing in the line of the canal, attacked the enemy on his front with a sharp fire of musketry. Walpole with his riflemen and a detachment of the 38th Regiment rushed by the bridge immediately on Greathed's left, and took the direction of the city wall. At the same time Peel's 24-pounders, Longden's mortars, and Bourchier's and Middleton's field batteries opened a heavy fire upon the brick-kilns and great mounds. Under cover of their fire, Hope's and Inglis's Brigades, taking ground to the left, wheeled into three parallel lines fronting the canal. The cavalry and horse artillery were sent to make a detour on the left across the canal by a bridge a mile and a half up and threaten the enemy's rear.

As soon as the formation in line had been completed, Hope, followed by Inglis and preceded by the Sikhs and 53rd in skirmishing order, advanced against the high brick mounds covering the bridge. "The spectacle now was an animated one; grouped

in masses behind the mounds the rebels fired sharply, while their guns, worked with great precision and energy, sent a storm of shot and shell over the plain, over which, like a drifting storm, came the stout skirmishers of the Sikhs and 53rd, covering their front with the flashes of a bickering musketry, behind whom rolled in a long and serried line the 93rd and 42nd, sombre with their gloomy plumes and dark tartan, followed some hundred yards in rear by the thin ranks of Inglis's Brigade." And once more, as at Alma, Colin Campbell rode in front of the stately "Black Watch" and the hot 93rd. When the skirmishers approached the brick-kilns, the enemy opened on them a steady and destructive fire, but Sikhs and Irishmen¹ rushed on at the double and drove the rebels from the mounds on to the bridge. The assailants paused behind the shelter. An aide-de-camp rode up, briefly repeated a few words, and the Sikhs and 53rd quitting the cover made a spring for the bridge. But the enemy were ranked again in many lines, and they swept it with musketry and grape. The skirmishers were baffled: they could advance no farther. The moments were running out, and unless help came quickly they must fall back. Then a rumbling sound was heard. Peel and his sailors, dragging their heavy 24-pounder as if it were a light field-piece, came up; passing through the

¹ "The 53rd (Queen's) Regiment, principally composed of Irishmen, were a fine-looking set of fellows, and equally good hands at fighting." — "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, R.A., vol. i. p. 316.

Captain
Peel and
Private
Hannaford
lead the
way

skirmishers and through the murderous fire, they ran it across the bridge, Peel, accompanied by a soldier of her Majesty's 53rd, named Hannaford, leading the way, and quickly brought it into action. The two brigades, stirred by the sight of this gallant feat of arms, pressed forward and crossed the canal by the bridge or forded it. Swiftly resuming on the other side their line of formation, they advanced. "On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers."¹ The enemy were driven back at all points. Lieutenant Bunny, Adjutant of the Horse Artillery, seeing them fleeing, rode back to Bourchier and said, "Come along, they are bolting like the devil!" Away the battery went along the Trunk Road at a gallop. "The infantry made way for us, and a mile and a half ahead we came upon the enemy's camp, and at 400 yards poured round shot into the flying masses before us. 'Go to grape distance' was Major Turner's order: we limbered up, and from a distance of not more than 200 yards poured a shower of grape into their position. The men were yelling with delight; they actually stood

¹ "I must here draw attention to the manner in which the heavy 24-pounder guns were impelled and managed by Captain Peel and his gallant sailors. Through the extraordinary energy and goodwill with which the latter have worked, their guns have been constantly in advance throughout our late operations, from the relief of Lucknow till now, as if they were light field-pieces, and the service rendered by them in clearing our front has been incalculable. On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers."—From General Sir Colin Campbell, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, 10th December 1857.—"State Papers," vol. ii. p. 390.

upon the gun-carriages as we advanced ; the drivers cheered, and such a scene of excitement was never known. Then the Sikhs and the 53rd passed the guns and drove the rebels from the camp. So complete was the surprise, so unexpected was the onslaught, that the *chupatties* were found heating upon the fires, the bullocks stood tied beside the hackeries, the sick and wounded were found lying in the hospital, the smith left his forge and the surgeon his ward, to fly from the avenging bayonets."

On passing the enemy's camp Sir Colin directed General Mansfield with the Rifles, 93rd, and Longden's Heavy and Middleton's Field Battery to move round the back of the town and attack the enemy on the left at the Subadar's Tank, a position on his line of retreat. He ordered the 23rd and 38th Regiments to guard the captured camp, and sent Inglis's Brigade along the Calpee road to support the cavalry and horse artillery who had not appeared. It was now nearly 2 o'clock, and fearing that the enemy might escape with their guns, Sir Colin ordered Bourchier's Battery to press the pursuit. On it went. "Hurrah, hurrah ! we are on their track : gun after gun is passed and spiked, cartloads of ammunition lay strewed along the road : Pandies are bolting in all directions. For two miles without a check the pursuit was carried on by the battery alone, accompanied by Sir Hope Grant and his staff. Four times in that distance did we come into action, to clear our fronts and flanks ; until General Grant, thinking wisely that we were too

General
Mansfield
sent to
attack
enemy's
left.

far from supports, determined to wait until the cavalry arrived."¹ A halt was called. A small cloud coming nearer and nearer was seen on the left, and the head of the cavalry column debouched from a grove. They had been delayed by a mistake of their guide and the difficult nature of the ground. Sir Colin now rode up and gave the order to continue the pursuit. "The cavalry spread like lightning over the plain in skirmishing order. Sir Colin takes the lead. The pursuit is continued to the 14th milestone, assuming all the character of a fox-hunt. Strange to say, not many miles beyond the enemy's camp a fox broke right in front of the column, and a *view halloo* told Reynard that the heavy crops would be his safest refuge."²

At the fourteenth milestone, on the banks of the Pandoo river, the pursuit ceased. The column then retraced its steps, and at midnight reached the junction of the Calpee and Grand Trunk roads, and bivouacked on the ground where the battle had been fought.³ "The night was cold," writes Sir

¹ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., p. 176.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Hope Grant now desired me to hurry back to Cawnpore before it got too dark, and select the ground for the night's bivouac. As there was some risk in going alone, Augustus Anson volunteered to accompany me. We had got about half-way when we came across the dead body of Lieutenant Salmond, who had been acting aide-de-camp to my General, and must have got separated from us in the pursuit. His throat was cut, and he had a severe wound on the face. Soon after we met Inglis's Brigade, which, in accordance with my instructions, I turned back. On reaching the Gwalior Contingent camp we heard that an attempt had been made to recapture it, which had been repulsed by the troops left in charge.

"It was dusk by the time we reached the junction of the Kalpi and

Hope Grant, "we had no tents, and little to eat. Sir Colin was the most thorough soldier of us all. When his force was required to sleep in the open air, a very common occurrence, he made a point of stopping with the men. His courage and judgment were unsurpassed. Cool and good-humoured in action, always in his place when most wanted, he could not fail to win the confidence of those under him."

Meanwhile General Mansfield had moved with the force under his command towards the Subadar's Tank. The heavy field battery under Captain Longden, R.A., was sent along the road intersecting the Grand Trunk road, and leading directly to the old cantonment. "The Rifles were extended in skirmishing order some 300 yards on each side of the road, slightly in advance of the heavy guns, the Highlanders being kept in reserve. . . . The enemy began to give way immediately, successive positions being taken up and a rapid fire maintained by Captain Longden and Captain Middleton of the Royal Artillery, the Rifles passing through the enclosure to the right and the broken ground to the left of the road, with much spirit, under the able direction of Brigadier Walpole."¹ On reaching a village close to the Subadar's Tank, Middleton's

Grand Trunk roads, and we agreed that this would be a good place for a bivouac, the city being about a mile in front, and Mansfield's column less than two miles to the left. I marked out the ground, and showed each corps as it came up the position it was to occupy."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 373.

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 295.

Battery gallantly galloped through it before it was cleared by the infantry, and taking position on the plain, opened fire upon the enemy's guns and masses of infantry in full retreat along the Bithoor road. The rifles ran up to his support, and the position was then fairly occupied, Brigadier Hope coming up with the reserve of Highlanders and taking charge of the picquets which were thrown out on the line of the enemy's retreat. The enemy finding his retreat compromised, brought up artillery from the old cantonment and opened fire on the position. "These guns might have been taken," writes General Mansfield, "but I refrained from giving the necessary order, being aware that it was contrary to your Excellency's wish to involve the troops among the enclosures and houses of the old cantonment; and that if the slightest advance had been made in that quarter, it would have been necessary, at whatever loss, to make no stop till the intrenchment should have been reached." When Longden's and Middleton's Batteries had almost succeeded in silencing the enemy's fire, our position was attacked by some guns of the enemy from the broken ground of the plain on exactly the opposite side. They were quickly answered. At dusk large bodies of the enemy's infantry and cavalry were seen moving round to the west of the position about a mile distant, in full retreat along the Bithoor road. As it was not practicable to communicate with Sir Colin after sunset, the position being almost isolated, and considerable numbers of the enemy being still in portions of the town and the

old cantonment, General Mansfield strengthened pickets round his position and bivouacked on the ground.

General Mansfield's conduct in not pushing through a mile of ruined buildings at dusk and allowing the enemy to get off with their guns has been sharply criticised. He, however, explicitly states in his despatch that he "refrained from giving the necessary order, being aware that it was contrary to your Excellency's wish to involve the troops among the enclosures and houses of the old cantonment." That General Mansfield's action met with the approval of the Commander-in-Chief is indicated by Sir Colin having called "attention to the able and distinguished manner in which he conducted the troops placed under his orders."¹ Sir Colin having routed the enemy's right wing, sent General Mansfield to menace their other line of retreat, with the design that it would compel them, without serious loss on our side, to evacuate the strong city and environs of Cawnpore. And this exactly occurred. The rebel centre, finding itself without support, its camp lost and its army destroyed, broke up during the night and fled from the town. Early on the morning of the 7th of December the city of Cawnpore was patrolled by two squadrons of cavalry, and found to be quite clear of the enemy.

The right wing of the enemy had been so hotly pressed that they had dispersed in all directions, and Sir Colin took prompt steps to pursue the centre

8th De-
cember,
Hope
Grant
sent to
Bithoor.

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 291.

and left, who had retreated by the Bithoor road. On the 8th of December he sent a column under General Hope Grant to Bithoor after them. The force consisted of Captain Middleton's Field Battery, Captain Remmington's Troop Horse Artillery, the 4th Brigade of Infantry, 2054 strong, and 521 cavalry; 100 sappers also accompanied the force.¹ Hope Grant was to march to Bithoor, but if he thought it advisable or heard of the rebel guns being at Serai Ghat, a ferry about twenty-five miles above Cawnpore on the Ganges, he was to proceed there. Hope Grant started with the force about one o'clock in the afternoon, and owing to information received on the road exercised his discretion, changed the direction of his march, and proceeded to Sheorajpore, a village on the road within three miles of Serai Ghat, when he halted the force till daylight.² Having collected the

10th December,
Hope
Grant
defeats the
rebels at
Serai
Ghat.

	Men.	Guns.
¹ 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery	83	5
7th Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery	139	6
9th Lancers	327	
5th Punjab Cavalry	85	
Hodson's Horse	109	
	<hr/>	743
<i>4th Brigade.</i>		
42nd Highlanders	403	
53rd Foot	413	
93rd Highlanders	806	
4th Punjab Rifles	332	
	<hr/>	1954
Sappers	100	
	<hr/>	2797
Total	11	
	<hr/>	

² Early on the afternoon of the 8th we marched out of Cawnpore, and at sunset Unjur Tiwari, true to his promise, made his appearance at the point where the road turns off to Bithur. He told me that the

baggage and placed it under a guard, he pushed forwards towards the river. As he neared the ferry he saw a large force of the enemy on the point of embarking their guns. Immediately he ordered up the cavalry and guns. Great was the difficulty in moving them along the country track under the bank of the river, which ran at times through a sort of quicksand. Two guns of the Field Battery pushed through the treacherous soil, reached the dry bank of the river, "and, under a very severe fire from thirteen of the rebels' guns, Lieutenant Millman brought his guns into play. Soon after Captain Remmington's troop galloped up, and took up a most admirable position, covered by the bank of a ditch, opening on the enemy a flanking fire which, together with the remainder of the Field Battery, now came up, in half an hour's time completely silenced the enemy's fire, and put them in full retreat."¹

Nana had slept at that place the night before, but, hearing of our approach, had decamped with all his guns and most of his followers, and was now at a ferry some miles up the river, trying to get across and make his way to Oudh. We had come thirteen miles, and had as many more to go before we could get to the ferry, and as there was nothing to be gained by arriving there in the dark, a halt was ordered for rest and refreshment. At midnight we started again, and reached Sheorajpur (three miles from the ferry) at daybreak. — "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. pp. 375, 376.

¹ "State Papers," vol. ii. p. 397. In "Incidents in the Sepoy War," compiled from the private journals of General Sir Hope Grant, it is stated: "As soon as we came within one thousand yards of the enemy a tremendous fire opened upon us, but Lieutenant Warren, a fine young fellow, who commanded the leading guns, never stopped until within five hundred or six hundred yards of the rebels, when he opened fire on them. In a few minutes Captain Middleton joined him with the remainder of the battery." — "Incidents in the Sepoy War," p. 210.

In the "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," edited by Colonel Henry

A force of the rebel's cavalry now came up to try and take our guns, but the 9th Lancers, under Major Ouvry, the 5th Punjab Cavalry under Lieutenant Younghusband, and Hodson's Horse under Lieutenant Gough, the whole commanded by Brigadier Little, advanced upon them and soon drove them away. The whole of the guns, amounting to fifteen pieces, were captured. The success was complete, and "though the fire of grape from the enemy was most severe and well-placed, falling amongst the artillery like hail," the only casualty on our side was that of the General himself, who was hit in the foot by a spent grapeshot without being much hurt.¹

With Hope Grant's successful little expedition the two days' operations ceased. And never did Colin Campbell display to greater perfection his attention to the details, his broad grasp of the whole, and his mastery of the science of war. Inspired by a fine strategical conception, he fixed the enemy's attention upon their centre, while he isolated their left and centre, and with a swift driving stroke broke their right. Owing to this grand design, vigorously executed, he was able with a force of five thousand men to totally defeat an

Knollys, R.A., we find the following in Sir Hope Grant's Journal : "As soon as we came within 1000 yards of the enemy a tremendous fire was opened upon us, but Lieutenant Pickering, a fine young fellow, who commanded the leading guns, never stopped until within 500 or 600 yards of the rebels, when he opened fire on them."—"Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, vol. i. p. 313.

¹ Hope Grant's successful management of this little expedition considerably enhanced the high opinion the Commander-in-Chief had already formed of his ability.—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 377.

army of twenty-five thousand men, numbering in its ranks the most perfectly equipped and organised force in India, occupying a strong position with forty pieces of artillery. Thirty-four of these guns fell into the hands of the victors, whose casualties amounted only to ninety-nine of all ranks.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Sir Colin's
plans for
the future
campaign.

THE relief and withdrawal of the gallant garrison at Lucknow having been accomplished and the enemy on his front routed, Sir Colin was free to pursue the plan of campaign determined on in Calcutta. The cardinal feature of that well-conceived scheme was the restoration of the communications with Delhi and the Punjab. This could only be done by the re-conquest and pacification of the country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, known as the Duab. Greathed's column had passed through the province, but a military grasp of the country—not a mere invasion—was required to keep the ground line of communication thoroughly safe, and to make it help to sustain, by transport and supplies, his future operations. Delhi at the north-western extremity of the great plain, Allahabad at its southern extremity, Agra on the Jumna between the two, were held by our troops, but to command the Duab completely it was necessary also to have in our possession Futtehghur on the Ganges nearly opposite to Agra. Situated near the point where the Oudh and Rohilkund territory met, and possessing a floating bridge over the river, it was of great strategic importance. An army recruited from these territories could from thence operate by either bank of the Ganges and

interrupt our cross line of communication both with Agra and Delhi, and with Bombay and the Punjab. Sir Colin therefore determined a great concentric movement on Futtehghur. A strong column, he knew, was about to leave Delhi and march down the Upper Duab to him. He determined to send a force to sweep the Lower Duab and meet it at Mynpooree, near the junction of the Agra and Delhi roads with that to Cawnpore. The united columns were to move straight on to Futtehghur, while he himself advanced from Cawnpore to the same point. He thus designed to sweep the rebel masses from all sides of the great plain between the Jumna and the Ganges upon Futtehghur, and to drive them from thence across the Ganges into Rohilcund and Oudh, where he hoped to crush them at a later period.

Three days after Sir Colin's arrival at Cawnpore, Colonel Seaton left Delhi with a column formed of a squadron of Carabineers, Hodson's Irregular Horse, a wing of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, the 7th Punjab Infantry, a troop of Horse Artillery, and two companies of Sappers and Miners, numbering in all some 1900 sabres and bayonets. He had to guard an immense convoy of grain and stores required for the head-quarters. Hearing that a considerable body of rebels were in the Aligarh district, he proceeded to that town by forced marches, and leaving his convoy under the cover of the guns of the fort, he advanced in a south-easterly direction, and on the 14th of December came upon the enemy near Chandeyree, not far from the town of Kasganj. A smart fight

Colonel
Seaton's
march
from
Delhi.

Action of
Kasganj,
14th De-
cember.

ensued. The enemy's cavalry with three guns and some infantry advanced on both flanks. "Our guns soon stopped their progress," writes Hodson, "and then the Carabineers and Lancers charged straight down on them in the most magnificent style, capturing all three of their guns at a dash! I grieve to say, however, that they paid most dearly for their splendid courage. All their officers went down. Captain Wardlow, Mr Hodson, and Mr Vyse, all killed, and Stead of the Lancers badly wounded. The infantry were not engaged at all."¹ Hodson charged their flying cavalry and footmen on the left, and completed the rout. Seaton followed up the enemy along the road to Futtehghur, and on the 17th of December found them in front of the town of Patiale in great force, and partly intrenched. After a warm artillery duel lasting about half an hour, Seaton ordered the infantry to advance, and, placing himself at the head of the cavalry, charged the enemy. They did not wait to receive the shock, but broke and fled. "I then dashed into their camp with my regiment," writes Hodson, "Bishop's troop of horse artillery actually charging with us like cavalry fairly into their camp. We drove them through camp and town, and through gardens, fields, and lanes, capturing every gun and

¹ "The General will see by the list of casualties that Captain Hodson's newly-raised body of horse was not backward, and rendered excellent service. It could not do less under its distinguished commander, whom I beg particularly to mention to the Major-General, as having on every possible occasion rendered me the most efficient service, whether in gaining information, reconnoitring the country, or leading his regiment." — From Colonel T. Seaton, C.B., to Major-General Penny, commanding at Delhi.

all their ammunition and baggage. We pushed on for six or seven miles, and read them a terrible lesson." Seaton now retraced his steps to Aligarh, and taking the convoy with him proceeded to Mynpooree, where he gained another victory over the rebels.

On the 18th of December Sir Colin Campbell despatched Walpole with a column consisting of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions, Rifle Brigade, a detachment of 38th Foot, Bourchier's Battery, Blunt's troop of Horse Artillery, and one company of Sappers, to sweep the Lower Duab. On the 3rd of January, having encountered but little opposition, he joined Seaton at Bewar, fifteen miles distant from Mynpooree on the road to Futtehghur.

Sir Colin's own advance was delayed from the want of the means of transport. He had denuded himself of an enormous quantity of carriage to convey the women, children, and wounded to Allahabad; and what was left he utilised for the despatch of Walpole's column. As Walpole had to make a wide sweep and traverse a greater extent than himself, he wished him to have a good start, so that, having joined Seaton, the three columns might advance on Futtehghur simultaneously. On the 23rd of December the carriage sent to Allahabad returned, and on the following morning Sir Colin set out with the headquarters' column. He proceeded by easy marches, clearing the country on his flanks as he advanced. On Christmas Day, Hope Grant, who had been sent

24th De-
cember,
Sir Colin
sets out
for
Futteh-
ghur.

to Bithoor to burn the Nana's palace, joined headquarters with his guns and cavalry, leaving Hope's Brigade to search the neighbouring ferries across the Ganges and to destroy as many boats as possible. On the 28th instant Sir Colin sent Windham with a brigade to destroy a rebel fort, and halted the two following days in order to enable Hope's Brigade to reach him. On the morning of the 30th Hodson arrived in camp with despatches from Brigadier Seaton, having ridden from Mynpooree right through the enemy's outposts. Knowing how important it was to open communications with the Commander-in-Chief, he had volunteered to carry despatches to him. It was a difficult and perilous task. But no task was too perilous for Hodson. On the morning of the 30th he started, accompanied by Macdowell, his second-in-command, "game to the backbone," and 75 of his own troopers. They rode straight to Bewar, fourteen miles distant. "Here we halted and ate sandwiches, and then leaving 50 men to stay till our return, pushed on to Chibbermow, fourteen miles farther on. Here we made another halt, and then, leaving the remaining 25 men behind, we pushed on by ourselves, unaccompanied, for Goorsahaigunge, where we hoped to find the Commander-in-Chief. On arriving there (a fourteen miles' stage) we found the Commander-in-Chief was at Meerun-ke-Serai, fifteen miles farther on. This was very annoying; but there was no help for it, so we struck out as fast as we could, the more so as we heard that the enemy, 700 strong, with four guns, was within

30th December,
Hodson arrives.

Hodson's
and Mac-
dowell's
gallant
ride.

two miles of us. We arrived at Meerun-ke-Serai at 4 A.M., and found the camp there all right. We were received most cordially by all, and not a little surprised were they to hear where we had come from."¹ Hodson was most warmly received by Sir Colin Campbell, and was closeted with him till dinner-time. At 8 P.M. they started on their long ride (fifty-four miles) back. When they arrived about five miles from Chibbermow they were met by a native to whom Hodson had given alms in the morning. "He told us that a party of the enemy had attacked our 25 sowars at Chibbermow, cut up some and beaten back the rest, and that there was a great probability some of them (the enemy) were lurking about the road to our front. This was pleasant news, was it not? Twenty miles from the Commander-in-Chief's camp, thirty from our own; time, midnight; scene, an open road; *dramatis personæ*, two officers armed with swords and revolvers, and a howling enemy supposed to be close at hand." They deliberated what they should do, and Hodson decided they should ride on at all risks. "At the worst," he said, "we can gallop back; but we'll try and push through." "The native came with us, and we started. I have seen a few adventures in my time, but must confess this was the most trying one I ever engaged in. It was a piercing cold night, with a bright moon and wintry sky, and a cold wind every now and then sweeping by and chilling us to the very marrow. Taking our horses off the hard road on

¹ "Hodson of Hodson's Horse," p. 262.

to the side where it was soft, so that the noise of our footfalls could be less distinctly heard, we went silently on our way, anxiously listening for every sound that fell upon our ears, and straining our sight to see if, behind the trees dotted along the road, we could discern the forms of the enemy waiting in ambush to seize us. It was indeed an anxious time. We proceeded till close to Chibbermow. 'They are there,' said our guide in a whisper, pointing to a garden in a clump of trees to our right front. Distinctly we hear the faint hum in the distance; whether it was the enemy, or whether our imagination conjured up the sound, I know not. We slowly and silently passed through the village, in the main street of which we saw the dead body of one of our men lying stark and stiff and ghastly in the moonlight; and on emerging from the other side, dismissed our faithful guide, with directions to come to our camp, and then, putting spurs to our horses, we galloped for our dear life to Bewar, breathing more freely as every stride bore us away from the danger now past. We reached Bewar at about two o'clock A.M., and found a party of our men sent out to look for us." Hodson and Macdowell's gallant exploit was remarkable in that remarkable time for cool and daring courage.

1st January,
Hope
Grant's
brigade
marches
to the
Kala
Nuddee.

On the 1st January 1858 Windham's Brigade returned to headquarters. Early in the forenoon Hope Grant was sent forward with his brigade reinforced by a squadron of cavalry, four light field-battery guns, and a company of engineers to the

Kala Nuddee, at the point where the suspension bridge crosses it. Hope found that the enemy had removed the planks and severely damaged the structure; but they had not had time to injure the pier and main chains. The rebels disappeared on his approach, and the corps of Royal Engineers and Bengal Sappers, with a party of sailors under Major Nicholson, R.E., set to work with great vigour to repair the bridge. All day and night they worked. "The sailors were specially useful to Major Nicholson in the management of the ropes, which replaced the broken part of the iron work of the suspension bridge." On the morning of the 2nd of January Sir Colin, accompanied by the Chief of the Staff, rode over to see if the bridge was ready for the advance of the column. On the other side of it the ground rises in a gentle slope, and about half a mile to the right front of it is situated the large village of Khudagang, built on each side of the main road as it ascends the acclivity. While Sir Colin was inspecting the work, which was nearly complete, he saw a number of men clad in white descending from the crest of the hill to the village. He thought they were villagers, and "desired some one to go and tell them not to be afraid, as they would not be hurt, when all of a sudden off came a round-shot from amongst them which killed four men of the 53rd."¹

2nd Jan-
uary,
engage-
ment at
the Kala
Nuddee.

The sailors, who were washing their garments by the river-side, "leaving their soap-suds and clothes, never to see them again," rushed to their guns.

¹ Letter from an officer attached to the force with Sir Colin Campbell.

Under cover of a heavy musketry fire the enemy brought two more guns into action, and smote with shot and bullets the remainder of the 53rd as they passed the bridge in support of the picquet, which had been placed on the enemy's side of the river to cover the working party. The heavy guns were advanced, and a racking fire was quickly opened by Lieutenant Vaughan of the Royal Navy, and Major Smith commanding a field battery, Royal Artillery. The troops from headquarters, four miles distant, were at once ordered up, and Sir Colin did not consider it expedient to press the enemy till they arrived. "The position now taken up by the 53rd was secured, and the fire of the enemy kept down by our guns, but an advance was not permitted."¹ At 11 A.M. the main column began to arrive, Brigadier Greathed's Brigade leading. The 64th and 8th were promptly sent across the bridge, and Lieutenant Vaughan with three of Peel's guns followed them. Taking up his position at the head of the bridge, under shelter of the yellow bungalow, he returned their fire on the village. Between two and three o'clock the enemy brought up a heavy gun, and placing it under the cover of the Toll-house, opened fire: the huge round-shot ploughed down six men

¹ From the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General, Head-Quarters, Fort Futehgurh, 5th January 1858.

"I may mention that the flanks had been secured, when the bridge was first occupied by the detachment of a wing of the Highlanders at Rowen, a village about three miles to the right, where there was a ford.

"A patrol having been sent also on the previous day to destroy whatever boats might be found for several miles up the Kala Nuddee, to the left of the bridge."

of the 8th.¹ Peel having gone across the bridge, advanced one of the 24-pounders up to the front line of skirmishers. Vaughan, "a capital shot, and as cool when under a shower of bullets as if there was no such thing as gunpowder and lead,"² laid it and fired it. "His first shot struck the roof of the house, his second struck the angle of the wall about half-way down, and a third dismounted the gun and destroyed the carriage." Peel, who was standing by, said, "Thank you, Mr Vaughan; perhaps you will now be so good as to blow up the tumbril." Lieutenant Vaughan fired a fourth

¹ "One round-shot alone killed and wounded six men of the 8th Foot."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 383.

"One shot alone killed or wounded eleven men of the 8th."—"Incidents in the Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., p. 215.

"A shot from it killed five and mortally wounded two of the 8th Regiment."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 71.

"In another tent were two men of the 8th Foot. Each of them had an arm taken off, and one was dead. The other seemed to be doing well. Had some difficulty in pushing through the dense crowd on the bridge. In the house beyond the enemy's intrenchment, on the other side of the river, I found four men of the 8th lying dead in a room on some straw. They were all dreadfully smashed about the head and shoulders. These poor fellows and the two whom I had left in the tent (one still living) were struck by the same round-shot. The four were killed where they stood, and they now looked like men asleep, the expression of each face being placid and lifelike."—"From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in her Majesty's Indian Service.

² "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 71.

"Major English overheard, in the early part of the day, a very flattering compliment paid to Vaughan by some of his 53rd. Speaking of the naval guns, one said: 'Is *Paal* with us to-day?' 'No,' said the other. 'Who is it, then?' 'Why, sure, it is the chap with the glass in his eye, and he is nearly as good as the other.' To be classed with Peel was to be placed as high as one well could be. Vaughan was short-sighted, and always wore an eye-glass."—Ibid., p. 70.

shot, which passed near it, and a fifth, which blew it up and killed several of the enemy. "Thank you," said Captain Peel in his blandest and most courteous tones; "I will go now and report to Sir Colin."

He found the Commander-in-Chief at the bridge-head, where he and his staff had been watching the fight. "The bullets were flying about very plentifully, and both Sir Colin and General Grant were struck, though fortunately the bullets were spent, and neither the one nor the other was seriously hurt."¹ Owing to the bridge not having been fully repaired, getting the cavalry and horse artillery across proved a long and tedious affair. At length it was accomplished. The 93rd, who had been ordered to return to headquarters and dine before they relieved the 53rd, alone remained to cross. About four o'clock, having loaded up their baggage and tents, they began the passage of the bridge. The Irishmen, however, hearing they were to be relieved, determined they should not be deprived of the honour of delivering the assault. No sooner had the Highlanders stepped on the bridge when the advance was sounded, then

¹ "The *Shannon's* Brigade in India."—Lieutenant Edmund Hope Verney, p. 60.

"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 71.

"Just before this, Sir Colin had been struck in the stomach by a spent rifle-shot, which nearly doubled him up, but did not otherwise injure him. By a like shot, when talking to him and Mansfield, I was hit in the side with such force that for some moments I could not speak. Happily I was only bruised."—"Incidents in the Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., p. 216.

the double, and the men of the 53rd, springing to their feet and cheering, made a dash at the Toll-house and drove the enemy before them into the village. The advance had been sounded by a little drummer boy of the 53rd, who had stuck himself up in a mound and too-toed away the advance and double with all the breath of his lungs. "When asked afterwards what he meant by sounding it without orders, he said, 'Please, sir, I was afraid the men would lick me if I didn't.' Sir Colin, furious at this daring breach of discipline, rode up to the regiment and 'pitched into it well.' But these wild Irishmen were incorrigible: whenever he began to speak, a lot of them exclaimed as loud as they could, 'Three cheers for the Commander-in-Chief, boys!' until at last he himself was obliged to go away laughing."¹

The whole force now advanced, the 53rd on the right, with the 93rd in support, Greathed's Brigade forming the centre and left of the lines of infantry, on the outwork flank of which moved the cavalry under Hope Grant. The rebels did not wait to receive the attack. Covered by their light guns in rear, they began to retire in good order along the road to Futtéghur. Hope Grant then showed how skilfully he could handle cavalry. He took his horse a wide detour to the left, and driving before him the rebel horsemen, he trotted them parallel to the enemy's line of retreat, hidden from them by groves of trees and high growing crops.

Attack
on the
village of
Khudagang.

¹ "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel H. Knollys, vol. i. p. 317.

Then suddenly, as the distance between them narrowed to about three hundred yards, he wheeled to the right. The trumpets sounded the charge. The 9th, with their lances lowered, followed by the squadron of the Sikhs with their glittering sabres, burst forth from the tall crops and charged down on the rebel flank. They dashed into their midst. A short tussle, and the rebels, breaking their ranks, fled in wild confusion. Forming his cavalry into a long line, Hope Grant, at the head of his own regiment, the 9th Lancers, pursued the flying foe.¹ They rode past overturned carriages, exploded tumbrils, abandoned cannons. On the heels of the enemy, sabring, spearing, shouting, they rushed. Groups of fugitives who preserved their resolution and courage knelt with fixed bayonets and poured a volley into their assailants before they were cut down. For five miles the stern chase continued. At last the light began to fail, and the order was given to wheel to the right and form upon the road. Before the movement could be carried out a handful of mutineers turned round and fired upon their relentless pursuers. The gallant Younghusband fell shot through the lungs. Lieutenant Roberts, who had been riding by his side, saw him fall, but he could not go to his assistance, for at that moment he spied a Sikh sowar and

¹ Lord Roberts writes : "I rode a little to his left with Younghusband's squadron, and next to him came Tyrrell Ross, the doctor. As we galloped along, Younghusband drew my attention with great pride to the admirable manner in which his men kept their dressing."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., vol. i. p. 385.

a rebel sepoy in mortal conflict with musket and bayonet. The horseman with his sword was no match for the foot soldier with the "queen of weapons." Roberts rode straight at the sepoy, and with one stroke of his sword killed him on the spot. Then he saw two sepoys making off with a standard. He galloped after them, overtook them, "and while wrenching the staff out of the hands of one of them, whom I cut down, the other put his musket close to my body and fired: fortunately for me it missed fire, and I carried off the standard."¹ For these two acts of valour Lieutenant Roberts was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Lieut.
Roberts
awarded
the Vic-
toria
Cross.

With the captured standards at their head the 9th Lancers rode back followed by the Sikh squadrons. As they passed the Commander-in-Chief, he took off his hat to them, with some words of praise and thanks. "The Lancers shook their lances in the air, and cheered; the Sikhs took up the cry, waving their sabres above their heads. The men carrying the standards gave them to the wind; the Highland Brigade, who were encamping close by, ran down and cheered both the victorious cavalry and the veteran Chief, waving their bonnets in the

¹ "Lieutenant Roberts of the Bengal Artillery, General Grant's Assistant Quartermaster-General, also made himself conspicuous by his gallantry in the cavalry pursuit, and earned the much-coveted decoration of the Victoria Cross. He is one of those rare men who, to uncommon daring and bravery in the field, and unflinching, hardworking discharge of duty in the camp, adds the charms of cheering and unaffected kindness and hospitality in the tent, and his acquaintance and friendship are high prizes to those who obtain them."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 80.

air. It was a fair sight, and reminded one of the old days of chivalry. When Sir Colin rode back through the camp of the Highlanders, the enthusiasm of the men exceeded description."

The next morning the column marched to Futtehghur, and found it and the adjoining native town of Furrakhabad deserted by the enemy. As Sir Colin stood on the steep bluff overhanging the river he saw the last of the rebels flying over the bridge of boats. So rapid was their flight that they did not stay to injure it, nor the valuable gun-carriage factory in the fort. The bridge was secured, and Furrakhabad and Futtehghur occupied. On the 6th of January Seaton's and Walpole's columns joined the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, who had sent orders by Hodson for them to advance simultaneously with himself. But the attack of the enemy at Kala Nuddee and their utter rout had precipitated matters and changed in a slight degree Sir Colin's strategical scheme. But the result was eminently successful. The Duab had been reconquered, direct communications with Delhi and Agra restored, and the rebels driven across the Ganges into Rohilcund.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SIR COLIN was anxious to follow up the capture of Futtehghur by the invasion and conquest of Rohilkund, but the Governor-General, moved by political considerations, very properly thought that the subjugation of Oudh was of paramount importance. In a letter, dated the 20th of December, Lord Canning writes : " So long as Oudh is not dealt with, there will be no real quiet on this side of India. Every sepoy who has not already mutinied or deserted will have a standing temptation to do so, and every native chief will grow to think less and less of our power. I am, therefore, as things now stand, strongly in favour of taking Oudh in hand after Futtehghur, Mynpooree, &c., and the Grand Trunk Road communications are made safe. What do you think of this ? There may be reasons against it in favour of some other course which are not known to me but obvious to you. I am sure you will write to me unreservedly all you have to say upon it."¹ Before the letter reached the Commander-in-Chief he had despatched to the Viceroy a memorandum, " drawn up after very careful consideration." " The subject," writes Sir Colin, " has been for some days one of anxious consultation between Mansfield and

Lord
Canning's
letter to
Sir Colin
Campbell,
20th De-
cember.

¹ "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. p. 65.

myself. It is very possible that many of the points may have occurred to your Lordship; but some of them are so purely professional, that it is likely they would escape one not bred in the army. The paper is sent, not, I beg your Lordship to believe, for the purpose of hampering you in any manner, but simply in the earnest hope of rendering you some slight assistance in considering a very difficult and knotty question; and I entreat you to use it or put it aside as it may best suit your convenience."

The memorandum stated that in the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, after the experience lately gained of the stubborn spirit of the people of Oudh, the reduction of that province could not be attempted with an army of less than 30,000 men. "Colonel Napier, of the Bengal Engineers, has given the deliberate opinion, in which I coincide, as regards numbers, that 20,000 men are necessary for the first operation of subduing the city. That having been performed, it will be necessary to leave a garrison in occupation, consisting of at least 10,000 men—viz., 6000 in the city, and 4000 in a chain of posts to the Cawnpore Road—until the whole province shall have been conquered and the rebels driven out of their last stronghold." It was "for the Government to decide whether it be possible, with regard to the circumstances of the Presidency, to effect the necessary concentration of troops for this purpose." The memorandum further mentioned that "If, through exposure during the hot weather of 1858, the strength of the British forces in India be seriously reduced—viz., by one - third — and less than that

Memorandum by the Commander-in-Chief stating his reasons for dealing with Rohilkund before reconquering Oudh.

number could not be reckoned on were the campaign to be prolonged throughout the year—it will not be in the power of the Government at home to replace them. A great effort has been made this year under national excitement to meet a great crisis, but the means of recruitment do not admit of its repetition. As an urgent matter of policy, therefore, as well as humanity, it is absolutely necessary to economise the forces of which we are now possessed." On the 30th of December Lord Canning wrote that he had given the most anxious attention to the memorandum, but he still held the opinion that the communications being made safe, Oudh should be taken in hand with the least delay possible. He, however, added, "That it should not be considered as a necessary consequence of our entering Oudh that the whole province should be subjugated. If it were possible to collect a force equal to taking Lucknow and holding it without attempting more for the present, it should be done. Paradoxical as it may appear, I think it of more importance to re-establish our power in the centre and capital of Oudh, which has scarcely been in our possession two years, than to recover our older possessions. Every eye in India is upon Oudh, as it was upon Delhi. Oudh is not only the rallying-place of the sepoys.—the place to which they all look, and by the doings in which their own hopes and prospects rise or fall.—but it represents a dynasty : there is a King of Oudh seeking his own. Oudh, and our dealings with it, have been in every native's mind for the last two years. The attention of all native chiefs is drawn to see

Lord
Canning's
letter to
Sir Colin
Campbell,
30th De-
cember.

Sir Colin's
note to the
Viceroy
proposing
an imme-
diate ad-
vance into
Rohilcund.

whether or not we can retain hold of what we have taken." Meanwhile Sir Colin had addressed a clear and full note to the Viceroy in which he stated that, after due consideration of the permanent importance of preserving the roads, he was of opinion that it was "on the whole advisable to follow up the movement now made by this force by advance into and occupation of Rohilcund—to root out the leaders of the large gatherings of insurgents which we know to exist there, to seize their guns, and re-establish authority, as is now, I hope, being effectually done in the Doab. It seems to me that if we halt in this course to direct the only force at our command in these parts to another object, we run no slight risk of seeing the results of our late labours wasted, and of an autumn, perhaps a summer, campaign on the same ground, to rescue the garrisons which would have to be left in Futtéhghur and Mynpooree. Our late experience of the siege of Cawnpore might in such case be disagreeably repeated. The very fact of the retreat of the insurgents without a good beating renders this contingency so much the more probable, if they be not followed up with a will throughout the province of Rohilcund, where they are falling back on the rebel forces reported to be massed at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly."¹ Sir Colin added, "I come therefore unwillingly to the conclusion that Oudh ought to wait till the autumn of 1858, when, with the countries occupied in strength around it, the proper subjugation of rajahs and

¹ "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

people might be expected without risk and much loss." Lord Canning, after having carefully considered all he had thought and written on the subject, "with a keen sense of the importance of the decision," adhered to his original opinion. On the 8th of January he writes, "But I am obliged to say that I still think these operations should be directed against Lucknow at no long interval." And the political considerations which influenced his decision were of the gravest nature. The Nana was meditating an attack upon the Saugor territories. "He is also intriguing with the Mahrattas of Western India. If he can point to Lucknow as wrested from us, his appeal will have a dangerous force, and one which would not be counterbalanced by any reassertion of our power in Rohilkund." The reports from Pegu of things in distant Ava were that news of Lucknow was anxiously looked for. "Then there is that most formidable of all lurking-places of danger and revolt, Hyderabad—especially Mahometan, and deeply sympathising with Oudh, because fearing, however unreasonably, the same fate. The recovery of Oudh would be of the greatest value to us there; whilst the penetrating into Rohilkund, leaving Oudh untouched, would be little thought of. It will become a question for early consideration in the event of our not acting against Lucknow, and of General Outram having to withdraw from it, whether a part of Brigadier Whitlock's Madras Column should not be halted at Secunderabad, to guard against all contingencies in the Nizam's dominions. I should not like to ask Madras for another man out of her

Lord
Canning's
letter to
Sir Colin
Campbell,
8th Jan-
uary.

Sir Colin Campbell accepts the decision of the Governor-General.

proper territories." Sir Colin Campbell bowed to the decision of the Governor-General, and began at once to give loyal effect to it by the adoption of active measures for the reduction of Lucknow.

Lord Canning, in his letter to the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 29th of December, wrote : "The auxiliary force from Nepaul is more readily available against Oudh than in any other quarters ; and I should be sorry to make it clear to Jung Bahadur that we are obliged for a time to pass by anarchy and insurrection, where they are most formidable and raging immediately under his own hills, and take him off to other distant parts, where no such serious struggle awaits us." Jung Bahadur, the all-powerful Minister in Nepaul, on hearing of the outbreak of the Mutiny, had placed the whole military resources of his country at the disposal of the British Government. Lord Canning, after some hesitation, accepted a contingent of 3000 men, and in July it was sent down from Khatmandu, the capital of the State. The Gurkhas entered British territory northward of Goruckpore, where a Mahomedan chief had declared himself ruler in the name and on behalf of the King of Oudh, had organised a species of government, collected revenues, and exercised authority. At the end of July they occupied the civil station which gives its name to the district. On the 13th of July they reached Azimgarh, and two days later they were at Jaunpore, in the heart of the disaffected districts. Here the Nepaulese troops were formed by a few British officers who were appointed to act with them.

Jung Bahadur's offer of military assistance.

The Gurkhas enter British territory.

Arrive at Jaunpore, 17th July.

They were busy instructing our allies in European methods of drill, when news reached them that a strong body of rebels threatened Azimgarh. Colonel Wroughton, who commanded at Jaunpore, at once sent a regiment of Jung Bahadur's force under Colonel Shumshere Sing (a Nepaulese officer) to its assistance. They marched some fifty miles in a day and a half, and on the evening of the 19th of September they reached Azimgarh. The next morning they learnt that a large body of rebels had assembled near the neighbouring village of Mundoree. A force of 1200 men, under the command of Captain Boileau, was sent to disperse them. It chiefly consisted of the Gurkha regiment, under the command of Colonel Shumshere Sing. Venables, a gallant indigo planter, was present with a small body of horse which he had raised and organised to keep order in the district. They found the rebels posted in a clump of trees and in a swamp behind the village, and as they advanced the enemy opened on them a heavy cannonade. Boileau ordered Shumshere Sing to push his men forward at double pace. Promptly the Gurkhas responded to their leader's command, and rushing forward they drove the enemy from their position and captured three guns. Venables "was always where fighting was hardest ; he was first up at the first gun taken, and killed three men with his own hand."

The gallant conduct of the Gurkhas dispelled from the minds of the English officers the prejudice that had existed against the little mountaineers. They were not so smart as the Bengal sepoy, but

Surprise
and defeat
of the
rebels near
Azimgarh,
20th Sep-
tember.

Action of
Chanda,
31st
October.

they could march and fight. At Chanda, on the 31st of October, they again proved their stubborn courage. News having reached Colonel Wroughton that a rebel leader was collecting a large force at Chanda to seize the district of Jaunpore, he at once sent against them a column consisting of about eleven hundred Gurkhas. After marching about ten miles they found the rebels in a well-chosen and excessively strong position. They numbered at least five thousand, with five guns manned by experienced gunners. The fight was hot and stubborn. But the enemy was dislodged from his position, with the loss of nearly all his guns and his ammunition. Many gallant deeds were performed by the Gurkhas that day. "Lieutenant Gumbheer Singh of the Shere Regiment," wrote Colonel Wroughton in his official despatches, "now lies covered with wounds. This officer I beg prominently to bring to the notice of Government for his great gallantry, such as would in our service entitle a person to the highest honours being conferred on him. The lieutenant rushed on seven men defending a gun, cut down five, and wounded the others, who made off. He himself received eight sword cuts."¹

Gallantry
of Lieut.
Gumbheer
Singh.

A short time after the action of Chanda, Colonel Longden of the 10th Foot, who had been sent from Benares with a small force, consisting of three hundred and twenty men of the 10th Foot, two 9-pounder guns, a small detachment of European

¹ From Lieutenant-Colonel F. J. Wroughton, in Military charge Gurkha Forces, to Lieutenant-Colonel R. Strachey, Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, Camp Singramow, 31st October 1857.

artillery, and a hundred and seventy of the Madras Native infantry, reached Jaunpore. Two days after their arrival (4th November) a body of rebels again crossed the Oudh frontier. Colonel Longden, uniting his force to the Nepaulese Contingent, advanced against them, and drove them across the border. To protect it from future raids the Jaunpore force was greatly strengthened, and made a brigade command under Brigadier-General Franks, a man of fiery violent nature, and a martinet of the old school. He knew how to command men, and how to lead them. He had never studied the art of war, but he had an instinct for winning battles. He was more feared than loved by his men. In the Sutlej campaign, as he was about to lead them against a strong Sikh battery, he said, "I know you intend to shoot me. But, boys, do let me get in first." His horse was blown to pieces, but his boys carried him in triumph out of the battery. Another force, consisting of British and Nepaulese troops, was organised in Western Behar under Colonel Rowcroft. It was to move from Tirhoot along the river Gandak to Goruckpore. The good service rendered by the Gurkha Contingent also led Lord Canning to make a further arrangement with Jung Bahadur by which he himself was to lead a force to the disaffected districts, and having cleared them of rebels, he was to march into Oudh and co-operate with Colin Campbell in his attack on Lucknow.

On the 21st of December Jung Bahadur's compact force of 10,000 Gurkhas, composed of fourteen

The
Jaunpore
force made
a brigade
command
under
Brigadier-
General
Franks.

A force
organised
under
Colonel
Rowcroft.

Jung
Bahadur's
force reach
the fron-
tier, 21st
December.

regiments of infantry and four batteries of artillery of six guns, reached the frontier. Here he was met by Brigadier-General G. H. Macgregor, C.B., and the officers who had been attached to his force.¹ They were received by the Maharaja in full durbar. His dress was most magnificent. "The first day he wore the skin of a wild animal for a coat, richly trimmed with head-bands of pure gold; his girdle was of the same, studded with precious stones; his trousers of fine cloth of gold. As for his turban, it was really magnificent: first there was a row of rubies all round it, then emeralds, and a broad plate of pure large diamonds in front, with a large waving plume. His two younger brothers were with him, of course dressed as superbly, befitting their high rank in Nepaul." After the durbar the English officers went out to see the troops. "They were drawn up in lines of regiment, one behind the other, the best, of course, in front; but we were very agreeably surprised, both as to their discipline, *physique*, and equipment. They marched as steadily as any troops I ever saw. The double

¹ No. 5071, dated 14th December 1857. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to appoint Brigadier-General G. H. Macgregor, C.B., to be Military Commissioner and Governor-General's Agent with the Gurkha Force commanded by Maharaja Jung Bahadur, and Lieutenant J. F. MacHowden of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to be Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to the Brigadier-General.

The following officers are also attached to the Gurkha Force:—

Major G. F. C. Fitzgerald, Artillery.

Captain A. C. Plowden, 30th Native Infantry.

Captain F. N. Edmonstone, 4th Light Cavalry (Lancers).

Lieutenant F. B. Foote, 71st Native Infantry.

Lieutenant A. Cory, 16th Native Infantry.

Lieutenant G. E. Hill, 32nd Native Infantry.

march was singularly steady; and they formed column, square, and deployed—passed in review in a most soldierlike and steady manner. Far from realising our preconceived notions of Gurkha diminutiveness, they, at any rate in the crack corps, were giants; and even those in the non-selected regiments were very much larger than in our Gurkha battalions. I inquired about their composition; and General Rumheer Sing, the second in command, informed me that with the exception of seventeen they were all pure Gurkhas. The Jung is most anxious to get at the enemy."

His wish was gratified on the 13th of January. A few miles from Goruckpore the Gurkhas came suddenly upon the rebel force strongly posted in a jungle. Their guns at once opened fire, and the rebels vigorously replied with artillery and musketry. But the duel was of short duration. The Gurkhas, swift as bloodhounds, rushed forward, and the enemy turned and fled. For two miles through the jungle it was a race for life. Nor were these sturdy mountaineers then exhausted. Through the town the Gurkhas chased the rebels to the ghaut on the river. "At one place a number of rebels tried to rush up the banks and effect an escape into the fields, but were intercepted by the Gurkhas and cut to pieces. The great majority, however, jumped into the river, where they were shot down in great numbers. Three or four hundred must have been killed there, the river being at one time literally covered with floating bodies."

The station of Goruckpore was again occupied,

Jung
Bahadur
defeats the
rebels at
Goruck-
pore, 13th
January.

and the district cleared of rebels. On the 19th of February Jung Bahadur reached the left bank of the river Gogra, which separated Oudh from our districts. There he was joined by Colonel Rowcroft, who had moved up early in December in the direction of Goruckpore. On the 25th of December he received from Jung Bahadur a reinforcement of 500 Gurkhas. His whole force now only amounted to 1100 men, of whom 130 of the *Pearl Naval Brigade* were the only Europeans. The next day he attacked five thousand rebels with a large train of artillery strongly posted in the village of Sohanpore, covered in front by a tank with high banks and two or three large topes (woods) on the right. On arriving within half a mile of the enemy's position, Rowcroft formed line and took ground on the right to turn their left flank and act more easily on the tank. The operation was performed with conspicuous success. The rebels were driven from the village, and, after a pursuit of six miles, across the river Gandak. "The troops behaved, as British marines and seamen ever do, most excellently and gallantly; Captain Sotheby was ever ready and present with the guns and to afford me every assistance in the field."¹

Jung
Bahadur
joined by
Colonel
Rowcroft's
force.

Colonel
Rowcroft
defeats the
rebels at
Sohan-
pore, 28th
December.

¹ "Captain Sotheby has paid great attention to the drill and training of the Naval Brigade for land service, and in quickly training the horses and ponies for the guns—horses for the large 12-pounder guns and ponies for the three others—and the seamen to ride and act as gunners; and under Lieutenant Turner, R.N., in charge of the artillery, they have had constant drill and training, and are now ready and steady for field service, and were in the action of the 26th of December."—From Colonel H. Rowcroft, Commanding Sarum Field Force, to Colonel R. J. Birch, O.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Camp Mujhowlee, on the River Chota Gundah, 25 miles west of Sewar, 28th December 1857.

The Gurkhas proved themselves worthy comrades. "All the officers of the two Gurkha regiments were anxious and ready to render good service ; and the men of both regiments were steady and willing in the field, and kept well to the front with the European forces. One Gurkha officer specially distinguished himself that day. Lieutenant Burlton reports that Subadar Himkumal Bushnea, 9th company, Randull Gurkhas, behaved very gallantly, constantly encouraging his men, and in riding at one of the rebels who was attacking Lieutenant Burlton, inflicting, fortunately, only a cut through his turban and helmet, the Subadar was very severely wounded by a tulwar round the left hip, a Sikh then rushing up, cutting down and killing the rebel."¹ On the following morning Rowcroft crossed the river and punished those who had been forward "in marauding and giving aid to the rebels" by destroying their homesteads. Then, in pursuance of orders received from Brigadier-General Macgregor, he marched to Burkai Ghat on the Gogra, the chief river of Oudh. Here he received orders to embark his force in boats and ascend the river. On the evening of the 19th of February he arrived within four miles of the Nepaul column, and landing on the right bank was joined by a brigade of that force. Advancing up the stream, he defeated a body of rebels at Pherepore, and bringing up his boats he made of them a bridge over which the

Jung
Bahadur
crosses in-
to Oudh,
19th
February.

¹ From Colonel H. Rowcroft, Commanding Sarum Field Force, to Colonel R. J. Birch, C.R., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, 28th December 1857.

Nepaulese troops crossed. Jung Bahadur pursued his march to Lucknow, and to Rowcroft was assigned the task of holding Goruckpore and keeping open the communications.

General
Franks
marches
for
Lucknow.

On the day that Colonel Rowcroft and the Nepaulese force came in touch General Franks was ordered to enter Oudh. His field force consisted of three British regiments, the 10th, 20th, and 97th, six battalions of Nepaulese under General Pulivan Sing, two field batteries, and some other guns; but his cavalry consisted only of thirty-eight mounted policemen, known as the Benares Horse, commanded by Captain Matheson.¹ To make up for his deficiency in that arm, he had mounted 25 men of the 10th Foot, and placed them under the command of Lieutenant Tucker of the Bengal Artillery. The force opposed to him consisted of 10,000 men under the rebel chief Mehndee Hussan and 8000 men under one of his sub-lieutenants, Bunda Hussan. At 8 A.M. on the morning of the 19th Franks found

Corps—		Number of effectives.
6th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery	.	108
8th Company, 2nd Battalion, Royal Artillery	.	52
Detachment A Company, 3rd Battalion, Madras		
Artillery	.	66
" 4th Company, 5th Battalion, Bengal		
Artillery	.	30
" Benares Horse	.	28
Her Majesty's 10th Regiment	.	730
" 20th "	.	717
" 97th "	.	661
Allied Gurkha Forces, six battalions, Infantry and		
Artillery attached	.	3193
Native Artillery Detachment	.	115
Total	.	<u>5710</u>

the enemy under the sub-lieutenant at Chanda, "a second large village, at the south-eastern angle of which are a considerable mud fort and a *serai*, both of great height and loopholed for musketry." Franks's force soon drove the enemy before it, carried the position, and captured six guns, following the rebels through and past the village. After a long chase Franks rested his men. Near sunset, while the ground for encampment was being taken up, the enemy under Mehndee Hussan appeared on his left front. His force immediately changed front, attacked the enemy, and routed them. He then bivouacked for the night. The next day he halted to enable the baggage, which had been delayed by difficult ground, to arrive. News reached General Franks that the rebel leader intended to bar his progress by making a wide circuit to the left and occupying a difficult ravine at a pass guarded by the Fort of Budhayan, nine miles in front of him. But Franks's sagacity was as conspicuous as his energy. At daybreak on the 21st, having drawn up his force in order of battle as if he were going to attack the enemy in front, he allowed his whole baggage to file away past his right rear towards a village situated half-way to the fort, where it had been given out that he intended to halt. But he pushed the baggage rapidly through it, and withdrew without being noticed: his advance guard, who overtook the baggage, crossed the ravine, and seized the fort just before the enemy. The rebel leader, forestalled in the possession of the fort, proceeded by a long detour for the town

action of
Chanda,
19th
February.

Franks
occupies
the Fort of
Budhayan.

of Sultanpur, where he determined to dispute Franks's further progress. The rebel force numbering 25,000 men, of whom 5000 were sepoys and 1100 cavalry, with 25 guns, was under Mirza Gaffoor Bey, a General of Artillery under the ex-King of Oudh, who had been sent from Lucknow specially to take the command. The position which he occupied was formidable. Behind a deep and winding ravine which runs into the river Goomtee, his line, extending a mile and a half in length, was posted on a plain. His left rested on the Sultanpur bazaar, the centre was placed behind the ruined lines of the police battalions, and his right was covered by a range of low hillocks in advance of the village and strong masonry caravanserai of Badshahgunge. Near the point where the direct road leading to Lucknow crosses the ravine the enemy placed their principal battery. Three of their guns were placed on the extreme left, and six were posted on the *serai* on the right. The ravine, whose whole front was lined by groves of trees, was deep and easy of defence where the road crosses it: it was also very deep on the enemy's left where it ran into the river, but to the right it was much narrower and shallower. At six o'clock in the morning Franks marched from his camp, and three hours later his cavalry caught sight of the enemy's outposts near a village on the highroad. Immediately forming his men in battle array he marched through the hamlet, and the enemy's picquets concluded that his advance would be as they wished directly

Action of
Sultanpur,
23rd
February.

down the highroad. Then advancing with his few troopers and the mounted detachment, he drove the outposts beyond the ravine. A thick belt of trees now concealed his force from the enemy's. Taking advantage of the screen, Franks galloped with a few horse to the left to examine the head of the ravine, "which I felt convinced disappeared in the plain, and this proved to be the case, for my search found a point where the road from Allahabad crosses it, where the troops and heavy guns could pass the ravine out of reach of the enemy's fire. Some rising ground here gave me a good view of the rebel position, and ascertaining that it might be turned by its right, I ordered the whole force to take ground obliquely to the left." Concealed by the mango groves, the force proceeded round the enemy's right completely out of fire. When they debouched from the wood the rebels opened on them from their heaviest guns, but the shot fell far short. Franks instantly deployed his line and sent the skirmishers with the light guns well ahead to close on the enemy's position. But far in advance of the leading skirmishers rode Lieutenant M'Leod Innes, who during the defence of the Residency had shown how great professional skill and calm judgment can be combined with valour of no ordinary order. "He was the first to secure a gun which the enemy were abandoning. Retiring from this, they rallied round another gun farther back, from which the shot would in another instant have ploughed through our advancing columns, when Lieutenant Innes

Gallant
action of
Lieut.
M'Leod
Innes.

rode up unsupported, shot the gunner about to apply the match, and remaining undaunted at his post, the mark for a hundred matchlockmen, sheltered in some adjoining huts, kept the artillerymen at bay until assistance reached him."¹ The gun being captured, the British lines circling gradually forward drove the enemy from the different points of their position to the deep ravine which here swept round his rear. The retreat of the rebels was cut off. The central battery with five guns still, however, stopped our advance. Then Franks himself, cap in hand, led the skirmishers and eight of the 10th Foot up to the guns, and they were captured "after an obstinate resistance, the gunners standing by their pieces and serving them to the last." The battle was at an end. The enemy fled in all directions, escaping across the deep ravine which prevented the further advance of Franks's guns. His want of cavalry also precluded a vigorous pursuit. Twenty-one of the enemy's guns, nine of them of siege calibre, their camp and their ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors.

The force halted after the action for the men to rest, and that same evening it was joined by the Lahore Light Horse and Pathan Horse under Captain Balmain. The next afternoon the 3rd Sikhs under Lieutenant Aikman reached the camp,

¹ From Brigadier-General T. H. Franks, C.B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp, Dilkoosha, before Lucknow, 9th March 1858.

For this act of gallantry "surpassed by none in my experience," wrote General Franks, "Lieutenant M'Leod Innes was awarded the Victoria Cross."

having ridden forty miles that day.¹ On the 25th, in compliance with a telegram from the Chief of the Staff, the force resumed its march. On the morning of the 1st of March, just as the column was about to leave its camp, Aikman, who was in command of the advanced picquets, heard that a body of 500 rebel infantry and 200 cavalry, with two guns, under a noted rebel chief, were encamped three miles off the highroad on the banks of the Goomtee. He had only 100 men, but sending a trooper at full gallop to Franks asking that the cavalry and the guns might be sent to his support, he led them to the spot, and finding the enemy charged into their midst. A tough fight ensued. Aikman himself was engaged in a hand-to-hand contest with several of the rebels, and received a severe cut across the face. But his troopers beat them off, and, vigorously pressing the foe, drove them across the river and captured their two guns. For his dash and courage Aikman was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Franks continued his advance, and on the 4th of March he arrived within eight miles of Lucknow. Here he learnt that a large body of the rebels

Lieut.
Aikman
awarded
the
Victoria
Cross.

¹ "The next morning Franks was joined by the Jalandhar Cavalry. This body of horse, raised on the Guide principle under the auspices of Colonel Lake, Deputy Commissioner of Jalandhar, only a few months before, and equipped and drilled by Lieutenant Aikman, had marched from the Sutlej to join Franks in an incredibly short space of time—the last march covering forty miles. 'I did not expect you for a fortnight,' exclaimed Franks, as he welcomed Aikman. 'Had I known you would have been here, I would in any case have postponed the action.'"—"The Indian Mutiny," by Colonel Malleson, C.S.I., vol. iv. p. 235.

Attack
on the
Fort of
Dhowara.

occupied the Fort of Dhowara, two miles to the right of the road, and situated in very difficult ground amongst the ravines which run into the Goomtee. Being apprehensive that if they were left unmolested they might cut off his long train of baggage, Franks determined to drive them from their citadel. Sending the main column under Brigadier Eveleigh, C.B., a mile farther on the road, he proceeded with two Horse Artillery guns under Lieutenant Arbuthnot, a squadron of 9th Lancers, and some Sikh and Pathan Horse under Captain Coles, 9th Lancers, to the fort. No sooner did he approach it than the enemy opened fire from two small guns. The Horse Artillery guns were brought into action at 600 yards, but they had no effect. They were moved up successively to 400, 300, and 200 yards, but they were too light to make any impression on the walls and to put down the fire of the matchlockmen securely posted behind the parapet. Franks therefore ordered up a company of marksmen from each British regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Longden, 10th Foot, and two 24-pounder howitzers of Major Cotter's Madras Battery. A few rounds from them drove the enemy from the outer enclosure, "but a sharp matchlock fire was still kept up from the loopholes which everywhere pierce the keep, into which the greater part of the defenders had retired."¹ The companies of the 20th and 97th,

¹ From Brigadier-General T. H. Franks, C.B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarter's Camp, Dilkoosha, before Lucknow, 9th March 1858.

gallantly headed by Captain Middleton, 29th Regiment, and Ensign Elton, 37th Native Infantry, attached to the 10th Foot, attacked it from the south-east, effected an entrance, and captured the guns. The rebels, driven to bay, barricaded themselves in a house guarded by a huge heavy gate. Repeated attempts to break it down failed. "The shot from one of their own guns which we turned against it, making no impression on the massive gate, a fire kindled against it having no effect, and my only Engineer officer, Lieutenant Innes, having been severely wounded while trying to burst open the entrance, I determined," wrote General Franks, "to withdraw from the place." His decision was also influenced by a report brought to him that his presence was required with the main body, around which considerable bodies of the enemy were hovering. They, however, fell back towards the city, and Franks's force resuming its march reached Sir Colin's camp the same evening. It had in thirteen days marched a hundred and thirty miles, had beaten an immensely superior enemy in four actions, and had captured thirty-five pieces of ordnance.¹

Franks's
column
reaches
Lucknow.

¹ "But this march of General Franks, beside being important in itself, was valuable from its clearing the way for Jung Bahadur's army following in its rear."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, R.E., V.C., p. 276.

CHAPTER XXXIX

WHILE Franks's column and the Nepaulese army under Jung Bahadur were marching from the eastern frontier of Oudh to the capital, Outram was holding his own in the Alum Bagh against a pertinacious foe. As the Alum Bagh was capable of accommodating only a small garrison, he had, after establishing a strong picquet there, encamped his main force a mile in rear of the building itself, in the open plain across the Cawnpore road, and he protected his camp by batteries and abattis, and by judiciously turning two or three swamps into account, which, however, were very nearly dry in February. These defensive works, not connected by a continuous trench, occupied a circuit of about eleven miles which extended from a village to the left of the main road to the old and tumbled fort of Jellalabad on the extreme right, in which was placed a Sapper picquet and part of the park, the rest being in rear of our camp. The advanced posts were within gunshot range of the outworks of a vast city. Such was the position which for three months Outram held against 120,000 organised troops with more than 130 guns, besides the armed and turbulent scum of a population of 700,000 souls.¹ His force

¹ "Strength of the enemy on 26th January 1858, as ascertained by Captain Alexander Orr, of the Intelligence Department:—

amounted to considerably less than 4000 of all ranks. "Of these the forts of Alumbagh and Jallalabad absorbed about 600 men; brigade and camp duties 450 more. And thus, after deducting sick and wounded, there remained of all arms and ranks (European and Native) little more than 2000 available for action during the absence of the convoys (averaging 450 men) which we had fortnightly to send to Cawnpore."¹

37 Regiments of Sepoys, including Oudh Force	.	27,550
14 " new levies	.	5,400
106 "	Nujeebs	55,150
26 "	Regular and Irregular Cavalry	7,100
Camel Corps	" "	300
		Total
		95,500

Artillery. Guns of all sorts and calibre, not including wall-pieces, and the guns brought from Futtehpore, 131. Number of artillermen, not known.

The above is exclusive of the armed followers of the talukdars and zemindars, still at Lucknow on January 26th, amounting, at the lowest calculations, to 20,000 men, exclusive of the armed budmashes of the city, and exclusive also of four or five regiments that fled to Lucknow from Futtehpore, with three to five guns, amounting to certainly not less than 3000. The total aggregate of hostile forces in Lucknow on the 26th January not less than 120,000 of all arms. Since that date several of the zemindars' troops have left Lucknow, but their places have been much more than supplied by the regiments ordered in from the districts."—"State Papers," vol. iii. p. 454.

Corps.		Europeans.	Native.
Artillery	,	332	108
Cavalry—			
Military Train	.	221	...
Volunteer Cavalry	.	67	...
12th Irregular Cavalry	.	3	30
Oudh Irregular Cavalry	.	1	37
Infantry—			
5th Fusiliers	.	526	...
84th Foot	.	431	...
Carry forward	.	1581	185

Outram, acting under orders, took up his position on the plain of Alum Bagh to hold the armed hosts of Lucknow in check until the Commander-in-Chief was ready to undertake the capture of that city, which he hoped would be in a very few months. But, for strategic reasons, he disliked the position : its close proximity to the city enabled the enemy to attack him when they thought fit, and to make good their retreat when defeated. It was also cramped and open to surprises. When Outram therefore heard that Colin Campbell proposed to defer the capture of Lucknow till the next winter, a period of ten or twelve months, he considered it his duty, not as a General of a Division, but as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, to recommend a withdrawal of his forces to some post near Cawnpore. He argued "it is immaterial what particular spot in Oude is held as a proof that we have not deserted it, so long as a footing is retained in the province ; for no civil government can be exercised so long as we are not in possession of the capital itself."¹ To

Corps.		Europeans.	Native.
Brought forward . . .		1581	185
75th Foot . . .		355	...
78th Highlanders . . .		439	...
90th Light Infantry . . .		591	...
1st Madras Fusiliers . . .		411	...
Ferozepore Regiment . . .		5	295
Madras Sappers . . .		4	110
27th Madras Native Infantry . . .		0	457
Total		3395	1047

Grand total, Europeans and Natives

4442

—“State Papers,” vol. iii. p. 453.

¹ “James Outram : A Biography,” by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.L., vol. ii. p. 285.

continue to hold a position in the immediate neighbourhood of Lucknow, he considered, "would render necessary the employment of a much larger body of troops to maintain their post and keep up their communications with Cawnpore; and also, remaining in the vicinity of the city, without making any effort to take it, would be a declaration of weakness which, under the present circumstances, is in every way to be deprecated." Outram, however, begged the Governor-General distinctly to understand "that he only advocates the withdrawal of this force from its present position in the event of the reconquest of the capital and of Oudh during the present season being definitely abandoned. If, on the other hand, it be contemplated to undertake these operations, he is of opinion that political considerations imperatively demand that our present position be maintained at any cost." It was maintained, and at little cost, by the energy, skill, and courage of conception and execution of Outram.

Sir Colin Campbell, however, refused to realise the dangers and difficulties of Outram's position. After the defeat of the Gwalior Contingent at Cawnpore, a memorandum by the Chief of the Staff was sent to Outram, stating that the Commander-in-Chief was of opinion that he should take immediate steps, in pursuance of the advantage gained, to put his communications with Cawnpore in a thoroughly effective condition. "You will therefore, on the receipt of this memorandum, detach to the rear 400 European soldiers, 200 Madras Infantry, Captain Olpherts' Light Field

Battery, and half your cavalry, with all your camels." To this large demand upon his resources Outram felt bound to demur. He reminded the Commander-in-Chief that, in a letter to the Governor-General in Council, which was forwarded under a flying seal for the Commander-in-Chief's information, he had stated: "We have barely carriage for a weak brigade, which, however, would not be detached with prudence to a distance involving an absence of more than a day without exposing the camp to considerable risk, menaced as it is by many thousands of the enemy, supported by several guns posted in the gardens and enclosures on this side of the canal on our front and flanks, which daily send round-shot into our advance posts, though from so great a distance as to do no injury." Outram, besides drawing attention to this passage in his letter to the Governor-General, further informed the Commander-in-Chief that the enemy were busily employed in erecting a battery on his left flank which might become offensive at any moment; that they had brought out two horse artillery guns, "which could do much harm by moving on our flanks if we had no guns of a similar description to oppose to them"; that the cavalry force was most inefficient; that detaching 200 Madras Infantry from Bunnee would weaken too much that most important post, which was already threatened by the enemy. Finally, Outram pointed out the extensive nature of his position.¹ In reply to his letter he received a second memorandum from the

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 418.

Chief of the Staff informing him that "it is a subject of the deepest regret to his Excellency that he cannot coincide in the reasoning of Sir James Outram. . . . His Excellency entreats Sir James Outram to believe that he is fully alive to the circumstances of his position, and he does not think it possible for him to be threatened by real danger.

" Including the posts of Alumbagh and Bunnee, Sir James Outram has at his disposal 4400 fighting men, of which the bulk is composed of European Infantry, besides a very powerful artillery.

" The effect of the late success on the right bank of the Ganges cannot but be felt throughout the provinces of Oudh as elsewhere.

" If the left be threatened by a battery, his Excellency would suggest the advisability of attacking and destroying it before it can become a cause of annoyance.

" If, on the occasion of a detachment going out, Sir James has fears for his position, his Excellency would further venture to suggest that the front of the camp should be contracted, or that it should be converted into a bivouac in case of really imminent danger."¹

The tone of the memorandum reveals the fault which marred the great ability of the Chief of the Staff. It was hardly necessary to inform a man of Outram's standing and brilliant service that if a battery annoyed him he should destroy it; and the Chief of the Staff too hastily supposed that the effect of the late success on the right bank of the

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 416.

Ganges could not but be felt throughout the province of Oudh to an appreciable degree as elsewhere. It certainly was not felt in Oudh to any appreciable degree. As to the obvious suggestions that he should destroy the battery and contract his front, Outram replied : "It would be entirely out of my power to destroy the batteries alluded to—that is to say, I could not take the guns, for my spies inform me that the horses are always kept harnessed in readiness for immediate flight. All that I could do, therefore, would be to destroy the work itself, which would involve loss of men, to no purpose, from the enemy's musketry in the neighbouring cover, as the insurgents have unlimited command of labour, and in the course of a very few days would erect another battery in the same or in an adjacent position. Neither could I contract my front in proportion to the diminution of my force. I cannot retire from either flank position without abandoning strong posts which the enemy would immediately occupy, and thus acquire the power of doing us much mischief; nor could they be dislodged without more loss than I should care to have to report for your Excellency's information."¹ The arrangements for the convoys were henceforth left to the discretion of Sir James Outram. He calculated in each case the strength of the escort according to the exigencies of the time and situation, and not one was ever molested.

At first the rebels of Lucknow were no doubt

¹ "James Outram : A Biography," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldamid, C.B., K.C.S.I., vol. ii. p. 287.

depressed by the severe blows which Colin Campbell had dealt them, but when they received large accessions from the sepoys dispersed in other parts by the Commander-in-Chief, and when our victories were not followed up by any decisive action, their courage and hopes revived. Exaggerated accounts of the minor successes gained by rebel bands also reached them. Skirmishes between our advanced picquets and those of the enemy grew more frequent, and on the 21st of December Sir James Outram learnt from his spies that the enemy contemplated surrounding his position in order to cut off supplies, stop all foraging expeditions, and intercept his communication with Bunnee. With this object they despatched a force to Guilee, a village three miles from the camp, situated a little to the right of the road to Dilkoosha. On the evening of the 21st he was informed that the rebels had been reinforced, and that their strength amounted to about 4000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and eight field guns.¹ Having also ascertained that a space of about half a mile intervened between their position and the gardens skirting the canal and the Dilkoosha, Outram moved out at 5 A.M. on the 22nd of December in the hope of surprising them at daybreak, and intercepting their retreat to the city. His forces consisted of 1227 infantry under Brigadier Stisted, 190 cavalry under Major Robertson, and six 9-pounder guns under Captain Olpherts and Captain Maude. The right column under command

The
attacks of
the enemy
against
Alum
Bagh.

First affair
at Guilee,
22nd De-
cember.

¹ Afterwards ascertained to be only four—all of which were captured.

of Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, her Majesty's 90th Regiment, consisting of detachments of the 78th and 90th Regiments and of the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, with a cheer dashed at a strong position held by the rebels. They were met by a heavy fire. "Regardless of the overwhelming numbers, and six guns reported to be posted there, the suddenness of the attack and the spirited way in which it was executed, resulted in the immediate flight of the enemy with hardly a casualty on our side."¹ Colonel Guy in command of the left column, consisting of 400 men of her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, made a simultaneous attack on the adjacent village of Guilee, drove the enemy from it, and captured two guns. The flying foe were pursued across the plain by the Volunteer Cavalry under Captain Barrow, until they found refuge in a village, from which they opened a fire of grape and musketry. They were, however, speedily dislodged by the assistance of two of Captain Olpherts' guns under the command of Lieutenant Smithett, and changing their line of retreat they endeavoured to reach the city by the way of the Dilkoosha. The military train, under Major Robertson, having been, however, despatched to make a flank movement, followed them up so rapidly that they dispersed their cavalry, and drove their guns into a ravine, where they were captured. Being far ahead of the infantry, the military train were unable to remove them. A large body of fresh troops from the city menaced their front. The main body of the

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 422.

enemy, consisting of about 2000 infantry, who, on having their rear assailed, had begun to withdraw to the city, seeing their guns in possession of so small a force, menaced their right flank. "But by the bold front shown by the military train, and the gallant advance of the skirmishers, they were held at bay, until the arrival of a party of the 5th Fusiliers and two 9-pounder guns, under Captain Olpherts, completely secured the capture [of the guns], and enabled a working party of the Madras Sappers, under the command of Lieutenant Ogilvie, to extricate them from the ravine into which they had been driven."¹ In Division Orders Sir James expresses his warm acknowledgments to the officers and men, and records his approval of the conduct of Staff-Sergeant Roddy, "who was in command of the two guns attached to Colonel Guy's column, and whom his commanding officer, Captain Olpherts, has mentioned for the able way in which he brought his guns into action, and the good service he rendered in covering the rapid advance of the column."²

In forwarding Outram's report of the action to the Government, the Commander-in-Chief states that he "considers the whole affair to have been extremely well conducted, and to reflect much credit on the troops engaged."³

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 422.

² "Major Robertson has also brought to his notice the great assistance he received on every occasion from Captain Lane, 5th Bengal Light Cavalry, and Lieutenant Rich, her Majesty's 9th Lancers, attached to the Military Train."—*Ibid.*, p. 424.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

Attack
made by
enemy on
Outram's
position,
12th
January.

The enemy, defeated but undismayed, made another attack three weeks later. Early in January reports reached Outram that Mansoob Ali, one of the rebel leaders, was collecting men and receiving reinforcements from Lucknow to intercept his communications. He therefore sent a stronger escort than usual with his convoy on its way from Cawnpore, consisting of 450 infantry, 4 guns, and 80 cavalry. The rebels knowing of this reduction of his force determined to attack him. At sunrise on the 12th January they came forth, 30,000 strong, and gradually spread round the whole front and flanks of his position. But Outram had made such dispositions of his small forces and outposts as were necessary, and was ready to receive them. As soon as their movements were decidedly in advance, the brigades—the right mustering 713, and the left 733 Europeans and 100 men of the regiment of Ferozepore—were formed in front of their lines. The enemy first moved forward upon the left front and flank, but when they were fairly within range they were met by such a severe fire of artillery from Alum Bagh, and from the advanced batteries of the outpost on the left front and centre, that they fled with the utmost precipitation. On the left rear Captain Olpherts moved out his guns at a gallop, and dashing well to his front, completely drove off and dispersed a very large body of infantry and cavalry which was endeavouring to penetrate to our rear, turning them back towards the city, and doing much execution by the fire of his guns on their masses at 500 yards. At this time Outram received

a report that Alum Bagh and his right advanced outpost of Jallalabad were threatened. On proceeding to the right he found that the enemy had brought three horse artillery guns, supported by an immense mass of infantry, against the picquet which connected his right with Jallalabad. It had fortunately been strengthened to 100 men with two guns. Outram moved the regiment of Ferozepore and the 5th Fusiliers, with two guns of Moir's Bullock Battery, from the right brigade to the front, taking the enemy in flank and driving them back. "They were then exposed to the fire of Maude's guns from Alum Bagh, which played upon them with great effect." About the same time the enemy again advanced on the left and the right, and were again repulsed. Simultaneously they advanced on the Alum Bagh, but the fire of Maude's guns and of the riflemen soon scattered them. By five o'clock in the afternoon the whole of the enemy had disappeared.

Four days later they made another attack, and though they did not show in such general strength, it was more bold than before. In the morning, led by a Hindu devotee dressed as Hanuman the monkey god, a large body made a sudden rush on the Jallalabad picquet, but they were received by a tearing fire which promptly drove them back, leaving on the ground their leader. Throughout the day they continued to advance skirmishing and threatening an attack on the left, but they suffered severely whenever they ventured within range. When darkness fell they attacked in great strength the

Attack of
the enemy,
16th
January.

villages on the extreme left. Major Gordon, 75th Regiment, allowed them to approach within 80 yards of the post, when he met them with a withering fire of grape and musketry. A vast number were swept down at once, and the remainder fled. "Some shells from an 8-inch mortar expedited their retreat." Meanwhile a large body of cavalry had showed on the left rear, and were safely left to the vigilance of Captain Olpherts, who watched and kept them in check with his four horse artillery guns, supported by a detachment of the military train under Captain Clarke. The loss of the enemy was severe.

Attack of
the enemy,
15th
February.

The rebels, though beaten off, continued day by day to gain a better knowledge of the ground around Outram's position, and taking advantage of every cover, they diligently intrenched themselves, and harassed his troops by demonstrations of attacks. On the 15th of February a strong body of horsemen supported by infantry was spied moving to our left rear. A convoy was approaching, and as a violent dust storm was blowing at the time, they calculated they would get near it unobserved. But Outram straightway ordered out two of Captain Olpherts' horsed guns and a troop of the military train to observe their movements. A further report of the enemy's increasing strength being made, he supported them with the rest of the battery, the remainder of the military train, a detachment of horse, and her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.

"In the meanwhile a portion of the enemy's cavalry, escorting a person in a palankeen, having

advanced well into the open, Captain Olpherts' two guns and the troop of the military train galloped to the front and opened on them with grape, killing and wounding several and dispersing the remainder. I have since been informed that it was the Moulvie himself who headed this party, and that he was severely wounded.”¹

The next day the enemy again filled their trenches with men, and assembled in vast numbers under the groves of fine mango-trees in their rear. At the same time a body of cavalry and infantry was detached to threaten our left flank. During the morning they made several demonstrations of attack, but after much show they retired. About sunset their buglers again sounded, and they suddenly issued in clouds of skirmishers from the trenches, advancing for some distance towards our batteries on the left and centre of our line. Under cover of a smart musketry fire, a mass of them with loud shouts of “Chalo, bhai!” (“Come on, brother!”) made a rush at the outposts of the left front village. But “they were repulsed by the picquet, consisting of 200 men of the 90th Light Infantry under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith of that regiment, losing a good many men, the 90th having three wounded. As soon as it was dark they concentrated a very heavy musketry fire on the north and east faces of the Alum Bagh, which they continued for about two hours, but fortunately did no harm; they did not all finally retire until 8.30 P.M. Their loss must have been severe, as their flashes gave an

Fifth
attack of
the enemy,
16th
February.

¹ “State Papers,” vol. iii. p. 440.

excellent line for our guns, which opened on them with shrapnel, shell, and grape."¹

Sixth
attack of
the enemy,
21st
February.

The rebels, advised of the approach of the two columns from the eastern frontier of Oudh and of the great preparations being made in Cawnpore by Sir Colin for an immediate advance, saw that no time was to be lost if they were to drive Outram from his position. There had been for some weeks dissensions in their ranks, but in the face of a great impending danger they forgot for a moment their old animosities, and the Hindus swore on the Ganges and the Mahomedans on the Koran that they would slay the British at the Alum Bagh or perish in the attempt. The time was opportune. A large convoy they knew was on the road from Cawnpore, and the escort for this had taken away most of Outram's cavalry. Sunday, the 21st of February, was a favourable day to strike the decisive blow. Their spies told them that Outram, his officers, and the majority of his men attended church parade on the Sabbath. But Outram also had spies. Late on Saturday evening he was informed of the proposed operations of the enemy. At the first streak of day twenty thousand rebel troops with a large train of artillery silently emerged from their shelter in the city and adjacent villages, and having filled their trenches with as many men as they could hold, they massed their infantry in the groves in support of them. Then they commenced "a simultaneous movement round both our flanks at the same time, threatening the whole length of our

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 440.

position and attacking the north-east corner of the Alumbagh and also the picquet and fort of Jallalabad, against which they brought four guns." Outram, on perceiving their intention, immediately reinforced these posts. The enemy, under cover of long grass and underwood, came on to deliver the assault. But no sooner had they advanced within grape-shot when our guns sent many a blast of grape tearing through them. Meanwhile Outram detached about 250 cavalry and two guns to the rear of the fort of Jallalabad, where they suddenly surprised about two thousand of the enemy's cavalry. "Our guns immediately opened on them, killing several, which caused them to withdraw to the immediate vicinity of the infantry attacking the fort."¹ They remained there till the attack was abandoned, when all withdrew towards the city. About ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry also attacked our left flank, but five field-guns and a squadron of the military train quickly sent them back. Before the day was half spent the assailants, broken and dispirited, retired to the city.

Four days after this mortifying repulse they, however, again renewed the assault. The Queen Regent and her son, the Prime Minister, and the principal nobles, mounted on state elephants, came out of the city to encourage the assailants and witness their triumph. About 9 A.M. large bodies of infantry and cavalry, with four guns, advanced from their trenches, which were filled with men, and menaced our left. At the same moment thirty

Attack of
the enemy,
23rd
February.

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 443.

regiments of infantry, one thousand cavalry, and eight guns, also moved out against our right, accompanied by the royal procession. A strong body held the village and topes in front of their out-works, while the remainder, with two guns, swung round the right rear, occupied the groves immediately to the east of Jallalabad, and poured a shower of shells into the citadel. Outram at once sent Barrow's Volunteers and Wale's Horse to sweep round and take them in the rear. After having given them sufficient time to make the movement, he himself, soon after 10 A.M., moved out with the 1st Brigade under Brigadier Russell, Olpherts' Field Battery, Remmington's troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the Military Train, a squadron of the 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse,¹ and Graham's Horse to attack and intercept them. As

¹ "Up to the 25th February troops had been gradually arriving, the 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and a battery of Horse Artillery having arrived."—"Outram at the Alumbagh;" "The Calcutta Review," vol. xxxiv. p. 9.

Sir James Outram writes : "Colonel Berkeley, my able and zealous Military Secretary, whose knowledge of the ground was of great service to Brigadier Campbell in cutting off the enemy's retreat, was wounded while gallantly charging at the head of Hodson's Horse, as was Lieutenant Morrison while rendering to Barrow and Wale assistance similar to that which Colonel Berkeley afforded the Brigadier." —From Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., commanding 1st Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Alumbagh, 26th February 1858.

Hodson in his diary writes : "There has been a great fuss about the matter, Sir Colin having taken great and very just offence at its being reported to him that the cavalry were 'led' by Colonel——, a staff officer. . . . He got wounded, and then was officially reported to have 'led the cavalry,' whereas we had Brigadier Campbell (a capital officer) and Colonel Haggart, of the 7th Hussars, present besides the officers commanding regiments, *quorum pars fui.*"—"Hodson of Hodson's Horse," p. 284.

Outram advanced, a portion of the enemy's reserve made a demonstration against his left, but Olpherts at once wheeled his four guns to the left, and advancing a little distance unlimbered and opened fire. The royal pomp swiftly left the field. Then Remmington, taking up a position about four hundred yards to the left and in advance of Olpherts, opened fire on the foe as they fell back, and supported by a squadron of the 7th Hussars and by Brasyer's Sikhs, held them in check. The column then moved forward, flanked on the left by Colonel Campbell of The Bays with the Native Cavalry. The enemy on hearing the fire of Remmington's guns had begun a retreat. It was quickly converted into a rout. The two bodies of cavalry swept down on their flanks. Hodson's troopers for a second hesitated, but their gallant commander, supported by the native officers and Gough, the Adjutant, led the way and charged the guns. A rebel trooper ran his spear into Gough, who would have been a dead man if Hodson had not at that moment cut down his opponent. One gun was captured, and the enemy were driven away from the other. But they swiftly rallied, and poured a steady fire on the small band who kept them at bay. The military train rushed up, secured the guns, and the enemy fled. At 1 P.M. they had vanished. "Judging from the corpses which strewed the field where the cavalry had charged, and from the dense masses upon which our guns repeatedly opened, the enemy's casualties must have been heavy."¹

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 446.

About 4 P.M. they, however, again moved out against Outram. "On this occasion they directed their principal efforts against our left, and evinced more spirit and determination than they had hitherto done. Repeatedly they advanced within grape and musket range, and as they ever met with a warm reception from our guns and Enfields, especially from those of the left front picquet, commanded by Major Master of the 5th Fusiliers, they must have suffered severely."¹

Thus ended the last attempt of the enemy to take by assault Outram's position. For more than twelve weeks he had with a small body of British soldiers gallantly held the extended position, which he was by circumstances compelled to take up, against a hundred and twenty thousand rebels, mainly disciplined soldiers, and had repulsed their fiercest attacks. The sepoys proved by their heavy losses that it was not courage in which they were lacking, but, as at Delhi, leadership. If they had been led by men who were acquainted with the operations of war, the English commander would have found it impossible to hold his extended position and keep open his communication with Cawnpore. Outram's success was due not only to his quality as an able and daring commander, but also to his all-enduring fortitude, his unflagging cheerfulness, and all-embracing sympathy as a man. He kindled the same enthusiasm among the soldiers as he had done among the wild and savage Bhils. They knew his deep trust, his

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 446.

earnest anxiety to promote their comfort and provide for their amusement. Why his men loved him is shown by an account of his daily ride round the picquets by one who paid his camp a flying visit and accompanied him. "As we rode," he writes, "at what seemed a studiously slow pace across the open plain between the centre pickets and Alum Bagh, the General received his customary salute of round-shot from a heavy gun in the enemy's front battery, which the soldiers had nicknamed 'Nancy Dawson.' Several whizzed by, noticed only by a pariah dog, which had a narrow shave. At the Alum Bagh the site of Havelock's grave was pointed out, and from one of the bastions I saw once more extended before me the gardens and suburbs of Lucknow,—a fair scene, in which lurked much mischief. Signs of the enemy were discernible within easy range, but Nancy's noisy greeting is all I recollect of them. Jallalabad leaves the impression of a peaceful and picturesque Indian landscape, with its crumbling fort, *jheel*, and tempting topes of trees. As to the other defences, it seemed to a non-military eye that there were few anywhere, and that for long stretches there was nothing at all to prevent the swarms of Lucknow from coming in where they pleased. Sir James had a cheery word for officers and men at each post, generally some small compliment—such as a regret the enemy would not come on, 'because you're always so well prepared,' —and his visit seemed a welcome one everywhere.

As you know, he could be uncommonly irate on provocation, but there was nothing to find fault with on that day. I was told that when he did 'let out' at any one, especially a youngster, he was not comfortable till he had made it up by some kind word or deed, and that as often as not a 'wig' ended by the offer of a cheroot—a valuable gift at the Alum Bagh. His holster was stuffed with these luxuries, instead of a revolver, and he dispensed them right liberally."

By infusing his own ardour and serene confidence into the whole force, Outram was able to hold an almost untenable position. Full justice was not done by Sir Colin Campbell or the Chief of the Staff to Outram's defence of Alum Bagh, which must be viewed as a fine example of courage and good conduct, and will always stand out as a glorious episode in the annals of the Indian Mutiny.

CHAPTER XL

THE enemy saw that the crisis was near: Sir Colin's army was approaching the city, and they strenuously strove to extend and perfect the works on which many thousands of workmen had been unceasingly employed for the past three months. The primary object of the earthworks was to bar our approach to the Kaiser Bagh, or Royal Palace, about 400 yards square, containing several tombs and range of buildings. It had not been originally fortified, but had been strengthened since the last occupation of the Residency by British troops, and was now regarded by the rebels as a citadel and the key of their position. The line of the canal was the first or outer one. They had strengthened its lower shallow end, where Colin Campbell had crossed when he relieved the garrison, by a deep and straight cut made to the river. They broke down bridges, they scarped the banks of the canal which served them as a wet ditch, and they built on the inner bank, from its junction with the river to the Char Bagh, a formidable rampart of earth with bastions. A strong battery for three guns, resting against a mass of buildings called the Hazratgunge, supported the outer bases at the junction of three main roads. The second line, starting from the river and passing in front of

the Moti Mahal and encircling the Mess-House, stretched to the Hazratgunge main street of the city, which it joined at the small Imambara. The third line at right angles to the first two defended the Kaiser Bagh, whose rear was closed in by a mass of buildings through which approach would have been dangerous to the assailant. About 131 guns and mortars of various calibres were mounted on these works. But formidable as these lines were, the enemy did not entirely rely on them; they had loopholed and fortified almost every house and enclosure, constructed strong counter-guards in front of the gateways, and placed stockades and traverses across each of the principal streets, and constructed isolated batteries to sweep down them.¹ The enemy's works were vast and strong, but there was a cardinal fault in design, and of that Sir Colin took prompt advantage in his attack. The works rested on a river which could be easily crossed, and then they could be enfiladed and taken in reverse by our batteries.

Sir Colin
Campbell's
measures
for the re-
duction of
Lucknow.

During the month of January Sir Colin Campbell laboured strenuously in arranging the measures necessary for the reduction of Lucknow. No time had been lost in issuing the requisite orders. On the 11th of January Sir Colin wrote to Lord Canning: "We are all hard at work, and have been so ever since the receipt of your first letter. Indents and carriage to a large extent have been

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii., Appendix F. "All the main streets were also commanded by bastions and barricades, and every building of importance, besides being loopholed, had an outer work protecting the entrance."—Ibid.

sent to Agra for the necessary siege-train."¹ An army large enough to operate with success had to be concentrated at Cawnpore. Two 68-pounders had to be transported there from Allahabad, and at that spot had to be collected the provisions, carriages, and munitions of war required for a great siege. The siege-train from Agra had to travel one hundred and seventy miles, and could not reach Cawnpore before the first week in February at the earliest. A pause in the main operations became inevitable. But as the proposed advance on Lucknow was kept a secret, neither the public nor the troops could understand the cause of the delay, and Sir Colin did not escape the wrath of ignorance. He was violently assailed for the delay, and accused of indecision, dilatoriness, and wasting the best of the cold weather.² Keeping his own

¹ "Life of Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. p. 97.

² "There appeared in *The Times* a critique of his conduct up to May 1858, which was dated from Dublin, and signed by 'A Disabled Officer,' who had just returned from the war. It is instructive to read by the light of facts the criticism of the hour. The writer states: 'Did the Chief now act? No, not a bit of it, not he; foolish people should not hurry him. Day after day, and week after week, and still the long roads of white tents stood motionless, or made but very petty and partial moves, while the sun got warmer and warmer, till at last February also was actually gone, and still nothing was done. By this time in truth those whose faith in Sir Colin was not very strong could stand it no longer, and began audibly to swear. The cold weather was gone, and the heat was upon us, yet the campaign not really commenced.'"

"We remained a whole month at Futteghur, and loud were the complaints in camp at the unaccountable delay . . . Those who accused him of 'indecision, dilatoriness, and wasting the best of the cold weather,' could not have known how little he deserved their censure." — "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., vol. i. p. 387.

counsel, the Commander - in - Chief developed his plans, indifferent to the abuse poured on him. He remained at Futtéhghur as the best strategic centre for protecting the transport of the siege-train from Agra to Cawnpore, and for despatching troops to any quarter severely threatened by the enemy from Oudh, Rohilcund, or the trans-Jumna territories. On the highroad to Bareilly, seventy-seven miles distant, and on a direct country road to Lucknow, one hundred and eleven miles distant, Futtéhghur was conveniently situated for an advance either into Rohilcund or upon Lucknow, and the rebels were long kept in a state of uncertainty as to which was his immediate object. In fact, Sir Colin did his best to create a belief that an immediate advance into Rohilcund was to be undertaken. On the 19th of January he wrote to Lord Canning : "It has appeared to me necessary, owing to the very disturbed state of the country, to keep up as long as possible the delusion that I am about to operate on Rohilcund."¹ For this purpose he sent, on the 12th of January, Walpole and his brigade—guns, some cavalry, and sappers—along the Rohilcund road to take position on the Rangunga river, a deep tributary of the Ganges. The day before, the enemy had destroyed the bridge of boats across it. Materials were collected, and Walpole made a great show of repairing it. The Commander-in-Chief with his Staff rode out to examine the spot. The enemy was deceived. For

¹ "Life of Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. p. 103.

twelve days he remained in force on the banks of the Ramgunga, ready to oppose our advance into Rohilkund. Then a column 5000 strong, with five guns, crossing the Ramgunga above the broken bridge, marched to the Ganges, which they also crossed, and occupied the village of Shumshabad. On the night of the 26th of January Brigadier Action of
Shumshab.
Hope, with two troops of Bengal Artillery, two squadrons 9th Lancers, her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders, her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, the 4th Punjab Rifles, and the headquarters of Hodson's Horse, which had returned to camp from the Ramgunga that day, marched out against it. A thick fog compelled Hope to move cautiously, and it was 9 o'clock before the column closed up under cover of the village of Shumshabad. About three-quarters of a mile beyond it the rebels, who were in considerable force, had taken post in a good natural position, and had strengthened it with trenches and batteries. It was on a gentle rising ground, terminating abruptly in a knoll some thirty or forty feet high, which looked upon a plain of great extent. "On the knoll was a brick building, the shrine of a Mussulman saint, and the place was surrounded by the remains of an old intrenchment, upon which they had raised a sand-bag battery. Their front was defended by a deep ravine (impassable for cavalry or guns) which runs at right angles across the road to Mhow, along which the column moved."¹ Their right had a slope down

¹ Brigadier A. Hope, Lieutenant-Colonel, 93rd Highlanders, commanding 3rd Brigade of Infantry, to the Chief of the Staff, Camp near Fatehgarh, January 28th, 1858.

the plain, which afforded them an easy escape. No sooner had our troops come within range than the enemy opened a well-directed fire of round-shot. Macdowall, Hodson's gallant second-in-command, received a mortal wound. Remmington then, supported by Hodson's Horse, led his troop of horse artillery at a gallop across the bridge, and wheeling to the right, opened fire on the flank of the enemy's camp. The rebel cavalry made a daring attempt to outflank and cut off these guns, but were boldly met by Hodson. "We had a very stiff fight of it, as we were far in advance of the rest of the troops, and had to charge a very superior body of the mutineer cavalry; but there was nothing for it but fighting, as, had we not attacked them, they would have got in amongst our guns. We were only three officers and about 180 horsemen. It was a terrible *mêlée* for some time, and we were most wonderfully preserved."¹. Hodson, however, got two sabre-cuts on his right arm. The 9th Lancers under Captain Steele quickly coming to his support, drove the enemy over a steep bank into the plain below. Adrian Hope then advancing with his infantry carried the rebel camp with a rush.

Sir Colin Campbell felt that the time had come when he might with safety disclose his plan and withdraw his force to Cawnpore, the base of his future movements, in the hope of immediately undertaking the siege of Lucknow. The enemy had fled discomfited across the Ganges: the force collected in the Punjab for the purpose of threaten-

¹ "Hodson of Hodson's Horse," by George Hodson, p. 272.

ing Rohilkund from the north-west was expected to reach Umballa on the 1st of February : the siege-train was well on its way to Cawnpore. On the 27th of January Sir Colin despatched to that city the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and the next day he sent after them a squadron of the Lahore Light Horse. On the 1st of February he himself, accompanied by a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the 9th Lancers, and a squadron of Bengal Cavalry, set out for Cawnpore, which by forced marches he reached in four days, having done eighty-two miles. Brigadier-General Hope Grant started a few hours after the Commander-in-Chief with the headquarters of the cavalry and artillery and Hope's Brigade, leaving at Futtehghur a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery to join Brigadier Walpole's force, which had been recalled from the Ramgunga. Hope Grant was ordered to reach Cawnpore by the usual marches. Walpole was directed to remain at Futtehghur for three days, when, if not followed by the enemy, he was to move towards Cawnpore, leaving a garrison consisting of the 82nd Foot, a light field battery of Royal Artillery, a few sappers, and a body of police cavalry under the command of Colonel Hale of the 82nd to hold Futtehghur.

1st
February,
Sir Colin
Campbell
sets out
for Cawn-
pore.

On the morning of Sir Colin's arrival at Cawnpore the 7th Hussars, Anderson's troop Royal Horse Artillery, and the 79th Highlanders crossed the Ganges and encamped at Unnao, whose blackened parapets bore traces of Havelock's hard-won victory. "Where the dead were buried no one knew." A brief time had passed since they fell. At midnight

on the 20th of July Havelock saw his Highlanders formed across the Ganges—the first of a small band, twelve hundred Europeans all told, who were going forth on the desperate enterprise of relieving their countrymen at Lucknow. Yet a few months, and England was prepared to put forth her strength, and Cawnpore witnessed a different scene. Across two good bridges of boats, about half-a-mile apart, there flowed day after day a continuous stream of dense battalions of infantry, glittering squadrons of cavalry, well-horsed batteries, long lines of camels and elephants carrying the munitions of war. On the 8th of February Hope Grant, who had reached Cawnpore the previous day, went across with a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the 9th Lancers, and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and marched to Una, the forces at that place being pushed on to Busherutgunge. The artillery park and Peel's heavy battery followed in a few days, escorted by further detachments. On the 12th and 13th the siege-train, which extended over a distance of at least twelve miles, reached Una, escorted by Hope's Brigade. By the 15th of February the main portion of Sir Colin's army had crossed, and were stationed on the Lucknow road at Una, Busherutgunge, Nawabgunge, and Bunnee, to protect the parks and huge convoys of stores, as they made their way to the plain of Buntera, where the whole army was to assemble.

On the 8th of February Sir Colin left Cawnpore for Allahabad, where Lord Canning had arrived, and after having consulted with the Governor-General he returned the following day, and on the 10th

The main
portion of
Sir Colin's
force cross
the
Ganges.

of February a General Order was issued announcing the formation of the army of Oudh into brigades and divisions. Major-General Archdale Wilson, who commanded the army before Delhi when the Moghul capital fell, was nominated to the command of the artillery division; Brigadier Robert Napier to the command of the engineer brigade; and Brigadier-General Hope Grant to that of the cavalry division. The infantry was distributed in three divisions: the first under Major-General Sir James Outram, the second under Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, the third under Brigadier-General Walpole.¹

Two days after the General Order announcing the formation of the army of Oudh into divisions and brigades had been published, Sir Colin wrote to Lord Canning: "We shall be ready to commence operations from Buntera, which is six miles from

18th
February.
Formation
of the
army of
Oudh.

12th
February.
Letter
to Lord
Canning.

¹ Sir Colin Campbell's selection of the divisional officers created much discontent among the senior officers who had been sent out from England for the purpose of being employed in the field, and was severely criticised at the time. Sir Colin, however, in a letter to the Duke of Cambridge, stated that he had "selected the officers to command divisions with the greatest possible care, having found an officer inexperienced in war in this country cannot act for himself. . . . Until a man has passed some time in India, it is quite impossible for him to be able to weigh the value of intelligence. In like manner, he cannot judge what are the resources of the country, and he is totally unable to make an estimate for himself of the resistance the enemy opposed to him is likely to offer." Sir Colin concluded the letter as follows: "I do not wish to undervalue the merits of general or other officers lately arrived from England, but merely to indicate to your Royal Highness the difficulties against which they have to contend. What is more, the state of things at present does not permit of trusting anything to chance, or allowing new-comers to learn except under the command of others"—"The Life of Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., vol. ii. pp. 117-119.

the Alum Bagh, about the 18th instant. It is a question, however, whether we shall begin so soon. Jung Bahadoor and General Franks cannot, under the most favourable circumstances, be at Lucknow and able to take part in the fray before the 27th instant. Together they muster 12,000 infantry. Thus, with their forces united to mine, I should have 22,000 infantry, and without them 10,000 for the actual siege of Lucknow. The position which that force—I mean Jung Bahadoor's and General Franks'—would take up on the left bank of the Goomtee would render our battering operations comparatively easy in front along the line I propose to attack. The loss on our side should in such case, as a matter of course, be small in comparison with what it would be if we were to attack with the forces now under my immediate command only. Another advantage would be found in time being afforded for putting matters in a more comfortable state as regards the threat against the Cawnpore district, itself not an unimportant matter." After stating that our Goorkha ally "might feel hurt if we were to appear to shut him out from participating in the grand operations," Sir Colin concluded as follows: "I beg to assure your Lordship that we are able to take the strongest positions of the city without him, and that I am perfectly ready to follow your Lordship's wish with the greatest willingness, whatever may be the course you prefer."

Letter
from Lord
Canning.

Lord Canning's reply was prompt and decisive. On the 15th of February he wrote: "I wish the pause in the operations against Lucknow could have been avoided; but I am sure that, as matters stand,

we do better to accept the necessity, and wait for Jung Bahadoor. It would drive him wild to find himself jockeyed out of all share in the great campaign. . . . I am convinced that he would break with us and go back to his hills within a week. The loss of this help would be very inconvenient, but to find ourselves on bad terms with him would be much more so. I am therefore quite reconciled to a little delay ; but I shall let General MacGregor know that we cannot wait an unlimited time, and now that all the Jung's wants have been supplied he must make the best of his way. It will be a good thing if the intervening time can be turned to account against the Nana."

Sir Colin chafed at the delay, and he telegraphed to General MacGregor to inform him positively when Jung Bahadur would cross over into Oudh. He, however, took advantage of the unavoidable pause to press on the completion of the works which had been started to improve the position at Cawnpore, in view of the possible contingency of an attack by the remnant of the Gwalior Contingent, which was again showing signs of activity. The operation of sending forward all that was requisite for a campaign went on incessantly. From the Commander-in-Chief to the youngest subaltern, all took part in the great toil, and every man was labouring with untiring zeal and energy to achieve the work.¹ Sir

¹ "The heads of departments are always busy. No one near Mansfield has a sinecure. Norman, the Adjutant-General of the Army, is a sort of steam-engine made of bones, flesh (very little of that), blood, and brains, and his tent to any one but himself might bear the inscription of the Inferno. Colonel Pakenham, officiating Adjutant-General of her Majesty's forces in India, pours out his soul

Colin was in the saddle at break of day, and spent the morning galloping from post to post inspecting the works and visiting the troops going to the front. During the hot hours of the day he was employed in transacting multifarious public business. Reports had to be examined, despatches read and answered, maps and plans of Lucknow studied, and the memorandum on the siege operations prepared by Napier at his request to be considered.¹ Napier recommended that the attack on Lucknow should be made from the east side, and he was guided by the following reasons :—

"The west side presents a great breadth of dense and almost impenetrable city, resting on the strong buildings on the river-bank. After overcoming these obstacles, there would have remained the Kaiser Bagh, with the enemy's principal defences still to be reduced.

"The east side offered—first, the smallest front, and was therefore the more easily enveloped by our attack ; secondly, ground for planting our artillery,

over schedules all day long, and may be seen wandering now and then in the precincts of the Sahib-ka-dera (Chief's tent) in the hope of securing a few moments' consideration of those important but rather sawdusty documents. As to little George Allgood, no nearer approach can be made to ubiquity than, by the aid of thoroughbred Arabs, hard riding, and incessant work and exertion he manages to effect daily. . . . He is the Quartermaster-General ; lays out the camp, makes plans, procures information. Then there are the doctors and the officers of the Commissariat, whose life is one long report."—"My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., vol. i. p. 211.

¹ "Went over to the Commander-in-Chief's tent and found him busily engaged with Colonel Napier (not one of the Napiers ; but as good a soldier as ever lived) looking over plans and maps of Lucknow, and referring now and then to the reports of the spies from the city."—"My Diary in India," by William Russell, LL.D., vol. i. p. 211.

Napier's recommendations regarding the attack on Lucknow.

which was wanting on the west side ; and thirdly, it gave also the shortest approach to the Kaiser Bagh, a place to which the rebels attached the greatest importance ; more than all, we knew the east side and were little acquainted with the west.”¹

Napier considered that “the side of attack being fixed, the two next steps of primary importance were, after taking up a position in the Dilkoosha Park, to bring a direct fire on those points in the enemy’s fortifications in rear of the canal, the fire from which would affect the line by which we should cross them, and to enfilade those fortifications from the left bank of the Goomtee.”

Sir Colin decided to adopt the plan which Napier had sketched. Before receiving Lord Canning’s suggestion that he should turn the intervening time to account against the Nana’s people, he had despatched Hope Grant with a small compact force² “to make a detour to a small fortified place called Futtehpore Churassie, where the Nana was supposed to have taken refuge, about 25 miles north of the Cawnpore road and on the bank of the Ganges.”³ On the

Hope
Grant sent
against
the Nana.

¹ “State Papers,” vol. iii. Appendix F.

² It consisted “of the 34th, 38th, 53rd Regiments, two squadrons of the 7th Hussars, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, two troops of Horse Artillery, viz., Anderson’s and Turner’s, two guns of position, an 18-pounder gun, and an 8-inch howitzer, and a company of Sappers”—“Incidents in the Sepoy War, 1857-58,” compiled from the Private Journals of General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., p. 230.

³ “Rumours had been flying about that the Nana was somewhere in the neighbourhood ; but ‘wolf !’ had been cried so often with regard to him, that but little notice was taken of the reports, until my faithful spy, Unjur Tiwari, brought me intelligence that the miscreant really was hiding in a small fort about twenty-five miles from our camp”—“Forty-one Years in India,” by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., vol. i. p. 390.

morning of the 15th of February Hope Grant set out with his column, and making his way almost entirely across country reached his destination in two days. But the Nana had flown. After having blown up the fort Hope Grant proceeded by short marches to Lucknow, clearing the country as he went of rebels. On the 23rd of February he reached

Capture of Meeanjung, 23rd February. Meeanjung, an old moderate-sized town, surrounded with a high loopholed brick wall with circular bastions at the angles and at convenient distances along the sides. "The gates were strongly fortified, with bank, ditch, and palisade in front of them."¹ As soon as he discovered he was to be opposed, Hope Grant changed the direction of the columns from the Rohilcund road, along which he had been marching to the left, and soon discovered a spot for his two guns of position whence he saw the wall could be breached.² "I posted Turner's 9-pounder troop," writes Hope Grant, "a little farther back, to play on the town and divert the attention of the enemy. Four guns of Anderson's troop with the 7th Hussars were ordered to proceed along the

¹ "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 138.

² "After a careful inspection Hope Grant decided to breach the north-west angle of the wall, as from a wood near the infantry could keep down the fire of the enemy's sharpshooters, and the heavy guns would be in a measure protected while the walls were being bombarded."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., vol. i. p. 391. Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., who accompanied the force as a volunteer, states that the infantry were "drawn up where they were at hand, but under cover from the fire of the fort; the light company of the 53rd, under Captain Hopkins, thrown forward in a plantation which approached the walls near enough to check the musketry fire in front."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 139.

Cawnpore road in order to keep in check a body of the enemy which manifested a disposition to attempt to get round our flank. The other two guns, with the 34th Regiment and a troop of cavalry, were left to cover the baggage on the Rohilcund road."¹ After an hour's firing the guns had effected a practicable breach.² The 53rd were ordered up, and the General with a few words of encouragement sent them to the assault. They joined their light company in the wood. Turner's troop of horse artillery came up in the most gallant style within grape range and opened a heavy fire. Soon the aide-de-camp, Augustus Anson, was sent to order the 53rd to the assault. "The cannonade ceased, and they immediately debouched from the plantation, headed by their gallant Colonel (English), and marched as steadily as if on parade to the breach."³ When they got near, with a loud shout the high-blooded Irishmen dashing through the water of the ditch entered the breach. A short fight ensued. The soldiers pushed forward with the bayonet, and the rebels fled through the gate.⁴ Dire destruction

¹ "Incidents in the Sepoy War, 1857-58," compiled from the Private Journals of General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., p. 233.

² Hope Grant states: "An hour's firing." Captain Oliver Jones writes: "About a couple of hours' pounding brought down a piece of the wall large enough to let four men abreast enter." Lord Roberts writes: "A sufficiently good breach was made in about two hours."

³ "Recollections of a Winter Campaign," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 139.

⁴ "Hopkins, the plucky captain of the Light Company, was the first inside the walls, followed closely by Augustus Anson, and an adventurous post-captain of the Royal Navy, who, being unemployed, came to see what 'a winter's campaign in India' was like."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., vol. I.

awaited them. The Lancers ran them through, the 7th Hussars and Irregulars cut them down. Nevertheless there was some resistance to the pursuit. "A little knot of them got round the tree, with their backs to it, and defended themselves long until they were all slain."

About two the action was over and the pursuers were recalled. Five hundred of the enemy were killed and four hundred made prisoners. But as they were principally townspeople, Hope Grant directed, "to their inexpressible surprise and delight," that they should be set at liberty. With a vigorous hand he always guarded the rights of life and property of the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which his force passed. Inflexible to marauders, he was ever on horseback watching and enforcing obedience to orders.¹ Exhorting his

p. 392. Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., the adventurous post-captain, states that Anson was first through the breach, "he beating me by a neck."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 140.

¹ One day he found several men robbing different houses. "I made them all prisoners, handed them over to the guard I had brought with me, and then returning to the main picket, which I had directed to confine every man who returned, I ascertained there were altogether twenty-five men in durance. These wild Irishmen were marched out in front of the house. I had them tied up, and twelve of their number were flogged on the spot. I placed two of the officers in arrest, and caused the guard to be relieved by a party from another regiment. The next morning I paraded the whole of the 53rd and gave it to them most handsomely over the face and eyes. I told them in the words of Sir Charles Napier that without perfect obedience 'an army is an armed mob, dangerous to its friends and contemptible to its enemies.' This had a capital effect, and the regiment and myself afterwards became great friends. On the line of march, whenever they saw me approaching, they were overheard saying to one another, 'Now boys, take care of your backs, here is the Provost-Marshall coming.'—"Incidents in the Sepoy War," by General Hope Grant, G.C.B., p. 231.

officers to vigilance, he warned them that straggling and marauding were the greatest evils for an army, quoting the words of Sir Charles Napier that without obedience "an army was an armed mob, dangerous to its friends and contemptible to its enemies." He saved the people from robbery and violence, but a General can only mitigate the evils and horrors of war. At the capture of Meeanjung occurred many piteous events, which illustrate the misery that attends the glory of arms. In a house was discovered a poor woman tending a wounded child who had been shot through the side,¹ while a young man, her nephew, was lying dead by her side. Elsewhere in a small hut a workman was sitting at his loom, dead, with his hand in the act of arranging the thread. Another scene enacted itself that day, more piteous than the poet's picture of Priam, when he "braved what none other man on earth hath braved before, to stretch forth my hand toward the face of the slayer of my sons." The walls of the town and some of the streets had to be levelled in order to render the place incapable of defence. Roberts, the Assistant Quartermaster-General, was superintending the work of destruction "when an old infirm man, who was sitting at the door of a house, entreated him to spare it, saying that yesterday morning he was the happy father of five sons: 'three of them lie there,' pointing to three corpses,

¹ "It must be said that, very much to the credit of our soldiers, they never hurt the women nor the small children, though of course occasionally they got killed, for bullets and shells will hit them as well as men, if they get in the way."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 144.

'where the other two are God only knows'; that he was old, and a cripple, and that if his house was burned he would have nothing left but to lie down and die. Roberts, who is as good as he is brave, gave directions for sparing the old man's house; and I hope the two missing sons have escaped, and have returned to comfort his few remaining days.'¹

On the 25th of February Hope Grant's column marched to Mohan, situated on the bank of the Sai Naddi, a picturesque stream, and the next day, having crossed it by a beautiful old bridge, encamped on a wide plain. On the 1st of March Hope Grant received instructions from the Commander-in-Chief to march to Buntera, the centre of his army. The order, owing to some mistake of the messenger, had been delayed. It was therefore late in the day before the force started, and as the march was long and there was a deep narrow river to be crossed, the moon had risen over the sandy plain, covered for miles with white tents, before Hope Grant and his column reached their encamping ground. The previous morning Sir Colin, having seen the last detachment of the army put in movement, had ridden from Cawnpore to Alum Bagh and back to Buntera (upward of fifty miles), where he had moved his headquarters. "What a vigorous old hero he must be," a chaplain enters in his diary.

¹ "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 145.

CHAPTER XLI

AT last the time for an advance on Lucknow had come. Very early in the morning of the 2nd of March the first bugle sounded. It was followed by the shrill pipe of the boatswain's mate. Many a smouldering camp-fire cast its fitful glare upon the regiments as they fell in. A few lances glimmered in the firelight, and Sir Colin, accompanied by his small cavalry escort, rode up and inspected the Highlanders. As the grey dawn began to break, they marched off with the pipers playing "The Campbells are coming." The siege of Lucknow, which all had so anxiously longed for, had opened.

Sir Colin's advance force consisted of three troops of horse artillery, four guns of the *Shannon* brigade under Peel himself,¹ thirteen hundred cavalry under Hope Grant, and the 2nd Division of infantry under Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard. Through a sandy plain sparsely covered with wiry grass ran in a straight line the Lucknow road. Along it were dragged the heavy guns, on either side of them were the infantry, the cavalry and horse

Sir Colin
advances
on the
Dilkosha,
2nd
March.

¹ "On the march I again met Captain Peel and his Naval Brigade. . . . He was in great spirits at the thought of soon having his monster guns in full play at the devoted city of Lucknow."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 149.

artillery outside all, and the baggage in the rear. From one horizon to the other the force extended. After a weary tramp of nine miles through the sand, the force passed the Alum Bagh on the left, and Outram came out to meet the Chief. After advancing through a camp outside the walls, Sir Colin halted his men about a mile from the fort of Jallalabad. "A heavy shower of rain fell, which had the happy effect of laying the dust." During the thunderstorm the men ate the food which each soldier carried with him. They were soon again set in motion, and after passing Jallalabad they went through a stretch of land covered with high crops. Then they suddenly debouched into a grassy plain "on which were scattered many black, skinny, mummy-like skeletons of rebels killed some time ago." In front of them was an abandoned village on a slight elevation. As they crossed the open space where the unburied corpses lay, a large gun opened on them from a grove on their left opposite to the village. "What followed was exciting. The Lancers dashed forward. Then came the horse artillery bounding over low dykes and ditches, as if the heavy field-pieces and carriages were baby-carts. One artillery horse was struck, and left behind dying or dead. Each gun had six horses. They had next to be dragged through a narrow lane, traversed by pits and chasms, all but impassable. There one of the horses got into difficulty, and could not be induced to go a step farther. This blocked up the

passage, and prevented the possibility of pushing on the carriages immediately behind. There was no room to turn, and no other available road. In a twinkling one of the gunners cut or unbuckled the traces, releasing the animal, the road was cleared, and cavalry and artillery hastened on. There was only one gun in the grove, but the rebels served it rapidly, and a good many shots were fired before our field-pieces could be got into position. Presently a poor Lancer was brought to the rear in a doolie with his lower jaw horribly shattered.¹ The gun was captured, and the advance guard proceeded towards the Dilkoosha, which was reached without further opposition. But "when the brigades of infantry began to close on the advance guard, the enemy opened several guns which were in position in strong bastions along the line of canal. This fire was heavy and well sustained."² The Dilkoosha was occupied as an advance picquet on the right, and the Mahomed Bagh, a large mango grove surrounded by a wall, on the south left. To keep down the hostile fire some of the Naval Brigade guns and some of the heavy guns belonging to the artillery were placed in battery on the brow of the hill to the right front of the Dilkoosha,—"Peel, as was his custom, leading his guns, and perfectly indifferent to the balls which occasionally struck the ground within a short

The
Dilkoosha
occupied.

¹ "From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in her Majesty's Indian Service, vol. i. p. 404.

² "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 465.

distance of his feet."¹ Two of the *Shannon* guns were also posted near the corner wall of the Mahomed Bagh. The cannonade and musketry fire of the enemy were unceasing during the afternoon. Two of the Naval Brigade were mortally wounded by a round-shot.² Brigadier Little was struck by a musket ball on the left elbow,³ and three bullets struck a tree close to Sir Colin. To keep his men out of range of the enemy's fire, the Chief was compelled to retire his camp as far back as possible, but not as far as he wished, owing to the ravines in the rear. That night the troops bivouacked on the ground, the infantry with their arms by their side, and the artillery horsed in readiness to repel any attack. A good day's work had been done. Sir Colin had obtained a secure base for further operations, with his right resting in a wood a short distance from the Goomtee, whose fords were carefully watched.

3rd March.
Engineer park
estab-
lished in
Bibipur.

The following morning the Engineer Brigade and three infantry regiments joined the Commander-in-Chief from the Alum Bagh. The Engineer Brigade

¹ "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., p. 155.

² "Two of Peel's Naval Brigade men were terribly wounded near the tope where the Lancers were posted. One had his forehead shot off. A comrade jumped up and stuck it on again—a large piece of skull and brains; and the unfortunate man is still living, though in a hopeless state. The other had his thigh frightfully smashed by the same round shot."—"From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in her Majesty's Indian Service, p. 408.

³ General Little was, owing to his wound, compelled to relinquish his command, and Colonel Charles Hagart of the 7th Hussars was appointed Brigadier-General of Cavalry in his place.

and park were established below the Dilkoosha on the right bank of the river, in a park called Bibipur. During the next day some native sappers threw up a breastwork for two guns in front of the Dilkoosha House, and during the night extended it into a battery¹ for four guns to keep down the fire of the enemy's batteries in their front line of works, and to check that of two or three guns which they had advanced to the northern angle of the Martinière.

By the 4th of March the remainder of the siege-train, together with Brigadier Walpole's Division, had closed up on the Dilkoosha position, and the Chief moved his headquarters to the fine French chateau in Bibipur park. The right of his line resting on Bibipur and the Goomtee, the left being towards Alum Bagh, Sir Colin's position embraced all the open ground on the south-eastern margin of the city. Between his left and Jallalabad, the right of the Alum Bagh position, there was an interval of two miles. This interval was occupied by Hodson's Horse. Brigadier Campbell with a strong brigade of cavalry and horse artillery secured the extreme left, and swept the country towards the north-west.

On the night of the 4th of March two bridges of casks² were commenced across the Goomtee on the

4th March.
The re-
mainder
of the
siege-
train,
together
with Wal-
pole's
Division,
closed up
on the
Dilkoosha
position.

¹ No. 1-L.

² The groundwork of each was a collection of empty beer-casks lashed by ropes to timber cross-pieces, and floated off one by one to their positions; a firm roadway of planking was afterwards fixed on the top of the whole range from end to end. Firm indeed must the construction necessarily have been, for troopers on their horses, heavy guns and mortars, ammunition waggons and commissariat carts,—all would have to pass over these bridges, secure, so far as possible, from accident to man or beast.

Two
bridges
of casks
com-
menced
across the
Goomtee.

left of the Dilkoosha, near the spot where the river makes a great bend. By the morning our communication was effected, and a strong picquet being thrown over, a small earthwork was constructed on the opposite side to assist them in defending the bridge. The enemy had not during the night discovered our operations at the river, but as soon as dawn broke they saw what was being done, and attempted to stop them. A large body of their horsemen appeared on the left bank and approached the picquet, when a volley at close quarters sent them galloping back. Then a column of smoke rushed out of a grove, and three field-pieces began to play on the working party. A gun placed at the angle of the Martinière also opened on the bridge. Round-shot tumbled into the Commander-in-Chief's camp. The two guns with the covering party, however, soon compelled the enemy to withdraw their horse battery. Peel brought two of his big guns from our park to stop the fire of the gun at the Martinière. He posted them on the river-bank, and a smart cannonade ensued. "But the obstinate brawler would not be silenced." A troop of Lancers and another of Bays were sent down to the bridge to co-operate with Peel if necessary. But the enemy made no real attack, and cover for the men and guns was formed by a working party of the line under the direction of Captain Lennox, Royal Engineers.¹

All during the 5th working parties were engaged constructing the bridges and the embankments that

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii., Appendix F.

were to connect them with the shores on both sides.¹ On that day General Franks joined the Commander-in-Chief with his column, which became the fourth division of the Army of Oudh. Sir Colin had now under him the largest and most effective army that had ever assembled in India. It equalled nearly twenty-five thousand six hundred and sixty-four men, with a hundred and sixty-four pieces of artillery, exclusive of Jung Bahadur's force of eight thousand men, which was expected to arrive in a few days.²

The construction of the bridges was pushed on with vigour, and by 12 o'clock that night they were ready. An hour later, without sound of trumpet or

6th March.
Outram's
force
crosses the
Goomtee.

¹ "A Year's Campaigning in India," by Captain J. Medley, B.E., p. 167.

² FIELD FORCES UNDER THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Abstract of Effectives.

Corps.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned rank, and file.	Total.	Horses.
Artillery	87	...	1,526	1,613	930
Engineers (754 unarmed Pioneers included) .	50	41	1,911	2,002	...
Cavalry	132	61	3,420	3,613	3587
Infantry	558	45	11,940	12,543	...
Total . .	827	147	18,797	19,771	4517

FIELD FORCE UNDER BRIGADIER-GENERAL T. H. FRANKS, C.B.

Abstract of Effectives.

Corps.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned rank, and file.	Total.	Horses.
Artillery	17	...	327	344	193
Cavalry	13	11	519	543	417
Infantry	110	56	4800	5006	...
Total . .	140	107	5646	5893	610

— "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 552.

bugle, regiment after regiment moved up before the camp. When all had assembled the column advanced. A thick mist from the marshes by the river hung over the land, and the darkness was intense. The rumble of the artillery guns and the light jingle of the steel scabbards as they fell against the stirrup-irons alone betrayed the movement of the troops. The soldiers marched on in profound silence, now making their way through the groves, now toiling across broken ground, now wading through deep water-courses which crossed the ground. It was almost four o'clock when a troop of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, the advance guard, reached one of the bridges and began to cross. Outram,¹ who was to guide the operations on the left bank, had come down earlier, and having looked at the bridge, and expressed his approval, sat down on the ground and smoked while he anxiously awaited the approach of the column. Later on Sir Colin himself, "being anxious to get his men across before the enemy could discover our intention and open upon us, rode down to the riverside, and pitched into everybody most handsomely." "But this," Hope Grant adds, "had a good effect, and hastened the passage materially. Everything was got over in safety just as daylight appeared."

The sun swiftly dispelled the mist, and sparkled on the broad waters of the Goomtee, and the gleaming points of the lances and the bayonets of Outram's

¹ Outram left the Alum Bagh, which he had so long and gallantly defended, to the care of Brigadier Franklin, with the 5th and 78th Queen's Regiments of Foot.

force¹ drawn up in three lines. "It was a magnificent sight, the Rifles in green, the gallant 23rd Fusiliers in their admirable dress, looking so ready for work, the old 1st in their blue caps and tunics and clean white belts, the 79th with waving plumes and tartans, the well-tried Sikhs, the gorgeous Bays, and the Lancers, the glorious 9th; who so glad to see the old 'dirty shirts'!"² Outram marched in a north-easterly direction, and after proceeding a short distance the enemy appeared on his left flank. On being approached by the cavalry they were discovered to be in force, chiefly troopers. "The 2nd Punjab Cavalry then attacked on the right, while Major Smith of the Queen's Bays with two squadrons of his regiment, one squadron of the 9th Lancers, and Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar's troop of Horse Artillery, advanced from our left." The enemy fled helter-skelter. The Bays and Lancers pursued,

¹ Outram's force consisted of the 4th Company, Royal Engineers, and 254 Bengal Sappers, Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar's troop Horse Artillery, Captain Mackinnon's troop, and Captain Remmington's troop of Bengal Artillery.

2nd Dragoon Guards, 9th Lancers, a detachment of 1st Punjab Cavalry.

2nd Punjab Cavalry, a detachment 8th Punjab Cavalry.

23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers,

79th Highlanders, } 1st Bengal Fusiliers, } 8th Brigade.

2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade,

3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, } 6th Brigade.

2nd Punjab Infantry,

— "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 477.

² "The First Bengal European Fusiliers at Lucknow"—"Blackwood's Magazine," July 1858.

"Up among the Pandies," by Lieutenant Majendie, p. 167.

"From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in her Majesty's Indian Service, vol. i. p. 419.

cutting down all they passed with their long flashing swords. The Bays, who led, were young soldiers who had never known the excitement of battle, and intoxicated with blood, rode at break-neck speed. In small groups of twos and threes, their ranks broken by the rugged nature of the ground, they reached the infantry posts of the enemy. Percy Smith, their gallant leader, and two troopers were shot dead, several were wounded. Corporal Goad of the Lancers took the body of Major Smith on his back, and attempted to carry it away under a shower of bullets; but he was unable to succeed. Then Cornet Sneyd made the same attempt. He also failed. The body had to be left on the field. Sad were the faces of his regiment as they rode back exhausted, and with breathless horses, to join the rest of the column. The next day the body was found with the head and legs severed from it and the trunk otherwise horribly mutilated. They buried the mangled remains in a grove. "The whole regiment attended the funeral, which took place so late that it was necessary to have a lamp at the grave."

After the enemy had been dispersed, Outram pitched his camp on the Fyzabad road, about four miles from the city, in front of the village of Ishmalgunze, the non-occupation of which had mainly tended to produce the disaster at Chinhut.¹ Early in the following morning (7th March) the enemy made a smart attack on our advanced picquets, and brought out several guns under cover of ravines and

Gallant
action of
Corporal
Goad and
Cornet
Sneyd.

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 478.

clumps of trees in our front. They were, however, speedily withdrawn on our skirmishers and Horse Artillery and Captain Middleton's field battery, protected by the cavalry, coming to the front and opening their fire. The artillery practice on this occasion, as on the preceding day, was admirable."

In the course of the day the lower bridge, which had been dismantled during the night, was moved down stream to a point near Bibipur, where it could not be seen by the enemy occupying the Martinière. It was quickly formed again, and in the evening the siege-train for the operations on the left bank crossed the river by it. The next morning they reached Outram's camp, and he, acting under the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, sent back to headquarters Colonel D'Aguilar's troop of Horse Artillery and the 9th Lancers.

On the 8th a party of native sappers constructed a battery on the left front of the Dilkoosha for six guns, to bear on the Martinière.¹ Peel had to take his guns to it. He might have gone round the Dilkoosha and come out on the left of it, but with characteristic coolness he marched round from the right and in full view of the enemy. "It would have been a pretty sight, had it not been a matter of life and death, to see how solidly the blue-jackets marched with Peel and their officers among them, and how the sepoy artillerymen plumped shot after shot right across the line of their march, always contriving, however, to strike the spot over which a gun had just passed, or that to which a gun was just

¹ No. 1-L (Map).

coming. It was a terrible game of cricket, and we were all relieved when we saw the men and the guns safe behind their battery parapet."¹

A battery for four guns was also thrown up on the right front of the Mohamed Bagh to fire on the Martinière;² another battery of four guns was thrown up on the right front of the Dilkoosha. The same morning Sir Colin had ridden across the river, and after a reconnaissance it was decided that Outram should make an attack on the enemy's position next day.

During the night Outram caused an intrenchment for eight 24-pounder guns and three 8-inch howitzers to be made.³ The elephants drew the heavy guns along the sandy road, and at daylight they were placed in position, and opened fire. The word was given, and the Rifle Brigade threw out a cloud of skirmishers, the sharp crack of whose rifles ere long told that the work had commenced. They advanced towards a thick wood over some open broken ground, and "a very pretty sight it was, the green-coated riflemen running quickly forward, loading and firing as they go." After advancing about three-quarters of a mile they found themselves at the entrance of a dense jungle occupied by the enemy. The skirmishers were checked for a moment. Big guns were quickly brought into action, and the shells shrieked through the forest and long high grass. Again the little riflemen

9th
March.
Right
attack
(Outram).

¹ "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. i. p. 293.

² No. 2-L (Map).

³ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 478.

dashed into the high vegetation, followed by the rest of the right column. Highlanders, riflemen, and Sikhs drove the enemy through the jungles and villages, which afforded them an excellent cover, and, bringing their right shoulders forward, debouched on the Fyzabad road, in rear of the enemy's battery, which had been so fruitful a source of annoyance during the two preceding days. The guns, however, had been removed.

In the meantime the left column of the attack, composed of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, supported by two companies of the 79th Highlanders, which had been held in readiness on the left of the battery, together with the Horse Artillery under Brigadier Wood, which had been formed in rear of the bridge across the Kukral, advanced, and, in concert with the right column, attacked the Chukkur Kotee (or Yellow House), "the key of the rebel position."¹ The rebels, however, fled from it before the guns could be brought into action. Some sepoys, however, remained in the dark rooms on the ground floor, and three officers and nine men were killed in the vain attempt to expel them. Secure behind doorways, they shot every man who crossed the threshold. Outram, not wishing to sacrifice any more lives of his soldiers, had artillery brought up, and the sepoys were driven out by salvoes of shells. He then directed the colours of the Bengal Fusiliers to be fixed on the top of a small summer room which had been constructed on the second storey of the building. "This had been much shattered

Capture
of the
Chukkur
Kotee or
Yellow
House.

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 478.

by our shot ; nevertheless, young Battye mounted and fixed the colours there. This was the signal of our success to Sir Colin, who was awaiting the results of our operation at the Dilkoosha."

9th March.
Left
attack
(Sir Colin
Campbell).

Very early on the morning of the 9th Sir Colin came from headquarters, and, mounting the roof of the Dilkoosha, stood watching through his field-glasses the progress of Outram's operations. His eyes looked over the Goomtee gliding and twisting between its monotonous banks to a plain of sand interspersed with broad fields which stretched as far as the horizon. On the edge of an open space covered with brown bent-grass stood a glaring shell of brick and stucco : it was the Yellow House, the grand - stand of the King of Oudh's race-course. Nearer the river was an Italian villa, beyond and behind which stretched dense dark groves. More towards the city lay an enclosed extensive park, above whose noble trees a mass of buildings raised their turrets and castellated gables. This was the Badshah Bagh, or Garden of the King. Near it was a graceful mosque with two slender minarets trembling in the heat mist. Beyond the Badshah Bagh was a suburb of poor low houses, through which the road lay to the iron and stone bridges. That was Outram's line of march. It was arranged that on the first day he should push from the bridge over the Kukral rivulet down to the Yellow House, the key of the enemy's position. The whirling dust - clouds raised by the cavalry, the flashing of bayonets appearing and disappearing among the trees, and the musketry fire, enabled the

eyes of the spectators on the roof of the Dilkoosha to trace his progress. But his advance was slow. Sir Colin himself was engaged in a warm artillery duel with the enemy. Early in the morning batteries 1 and 1*-L to batter the Martinière, and 2-L to silence the enemy's right batteries, opened fire. The shot and shell made great holes in the walls, and dashed down the parapets of Claude Martin's fantastic building. The Naval Brigade had also some eight or ten rocket tubes, and these rockets swept the trenches and enclosure.¹ Not long after the cannonading had begun Colonel Napier pointed out a wall he wished breached, and two of Peel's guns were placed under natural cover to the left and front of No. 1-L Light Battery. "Peel, with his usual indifference to danger, thinking only of the effects of his shot against the breach he was making, and taking no notice of the bullets which were buzzing about our ears, was standing upon a little knoll, a fair target to the marksmen. One could see the fellows lay their muskets along the top of the rifle-pit; then puff, a little white smoke; then bang and whew-ew-iz, then sput against some stone as the bullet fell flattened close to our feet. At last one bullet,

¹ As I came up to-day Peel said, "Well, I think they are getting rather sick of it yonder," pointing towards the Martinière. At this moment a rocket was fired from his battery, which, after a few erratic twists, hissed away for the corner of the Martinière Park, and burst among the houses. "That was well pitched," said he. I asked, "Well, how are the rockets doing to-day?" "Well, you know, rockets are rockets. If the enemy are only half as much afraid of them as we who fire them, they are doing good service."—"My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. i. p. 293.

Captain
Peel
wounded.

more true than the others, struck him, and he fell saying, "Oh, they have hit me!"¹ It passed almost through the thigh close to the bone. He was taken to the Dilkoosha, and the bullet was extracted. "His sole annoyance regarding the wound was that it kept him from the guns and the field."² Day by day, stretched on his cot, he heard with feverish excitement the progress of our arms, and the news of the gallant conduct of the sailors gave him great delight. When Lucknow had been captured and the time came for the Naval Brigade to rejoin the *Shannon*, one of the King of Oudh's carriages was prepared for him. "Our carpenters padded it, lined it with blue cotton, made a rest for his feet, and painted H.M.S. *Shannon* over the royal arms of Lucknow.³ When, however, he saw it to-day, he declined making use of it, saying that he would prefer to travel in a doolie like one of his blue-jackets." The litter in which he was placed had been used by a small-pox patient. At Cawnpore he was attacked with the disease, and on the 27th April his gallant soul fled. Brave as he

¹ "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India in 1857-58," by Captain Oliver J. Jones, R.N., p. 173.

² "I found Peel extended on a little bedstead, pale and feverish, but he would talk of nothing but the attack and the certainty he felt of being able to get up in time to be in at the finish. His sole annoyance with regard to the wound was that it kept him from the guns and the field. The ball had sunk deep in the thigh, and the wound is severe, though not dangerous; so that I don't think his anticipations will be realised, and I know we shall all feel his loss."—"My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, p. 300.

³ "The *Shannon's* Brigade in India," by Lieutenant Edmund Hope Verney, R.N., p. 124.

was, he was distinguished by a simple joyous nature which seems to have affected every one with whom he came in contact in a remarkable degree. With a jest he won his sailors' hearts, and his singular serenity in the darkest hour of battle raised their hopes and gained their sure trust. He was their natural leader because he was their own ideal of a perfect sailor-man. "We never felt ourselves," wrote a seaman, "to be the *Shannon's* Naval Brigade or even the *Admiralty* Naval Brigade, but always *Peel's* Naval Brigade."¹

After their "noble captain" had been carried away, the blue-jackets continued to pour shot and shell into the *Martinière*. The enemy replied from their battery. For three or four hours the tremendous cannonade continued. About 1 P.M. Brigadier Lugard, who was to direct the assault

¹ "The *Shannon's* Brigade in India," by Lieutenant Edmund Hope Verney, R.N., p. 139.

"Brave, but humane, daring but forethoughtful, he so perfected the means at his disposal, that when they were brought into the field they were irresistible, and did as much as men and material could do. In action cool, collected, and fearless, he led on his guns, and poured their well-directed fire upon the enemy, encouraging his men by his calm yet earnest manner, utterly regardless of danger, utterly unmoved by the iron storm often raging about him.

"Highly educated and talented, a good sailor, a good navigator, with a complete knowledge of his profession, having a thorough acquaintance with its arms, its powers, and its requirements, he was simple and unostentatious in his manner, friendly and conciliatory in his address, upright and honourable in his heart. His life, short as it unfortunately has been, has left behind it one of those beacon-lights of glory, one of those polar stars of honour for future heroes to steer their course by; and his name is added to those of that glorious company so dear to every British heart, the naval heroes of England."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver J. Jones, R.N., p. 201.

against the Martinière, began to turn out his force. It consisted of the 4th Brigade with the 38th and 53rd regiments of the 3rd Brigade in support. The 42nd Highlanders were to lead the attack. "The men employed in the attack," the precise order issued that morning stated, "will use nothing but the bayonet. They are absolutely forbidden to fire a shot till the position is won. This must be thoroughly explained to the men, and they will be told also that their advance is flanked on every side by heavy and light artillery, as well as by the infantry fire on the right." For some time the men remained drawn up behind the Dilkooasha screened from the enemy. "Looking down on them as we did, they seemed as regular and stiff as toy battalions." At last the time arrived. It was about 2 P.M. when Sir Colin saw the British ensign fly from the Yellow House, and sent down the order for the assault. "Through the din of the cannonade rise the words of command in the courts below us, 'Forward! forward! forward!' tapering away from company to company." The columns with their supports, accompanied by horse artillery, emerged from their cover. The Punjabees and 42nd made a rush to take the enemy in flank, and the 93rd, extended in skirmishing order, supported by the 90th Light Infantry, swept down the front. Their batteries continued to play on the advancing column, and from the trenches and rifle-pits there came a wild fire of musketry. But they were quickly cleared, and the rebels,

Capture of
the Mar-
tinière.

abandoning the Martinière, fell hastily back on their first line of works, from which they poured a very sharp fire of grape and musketry on the Martinière Gardens.¹

Sir Colin, on seeing that the Highlanders had possession of the Martinière, descended from the roof of the Dilkoosha, and, mounting his horse, galloped his staff to the newly-won post. "The enemy got sight of us, and their round shot came by with that peculiar noise which cannot be imagined by those who had not heard it and cannot be described by those who have."² Not a soul was touched. Soon the party were clambering up the winding staircase of the Martinière and got out on the balconies, from which they watched Outram's troops moving in splendid order. His artillery, unlimbered on a patch of sand over the Goomtee, was pounding away at the enemy behind the canal works, whilst Hope's Brigade, having pushed forward, were returning the musketry fire of the enemy. Then from the balcony was suddenly seen a figure rising out of the waters of the Goomtee and scrambling up the canal parapet which terminated at that spot. "He gets up, stands upright, and waves his hand." "What is he?" "He must be one of our fellows, sir; he has blue trousers and red stripes." And so it was — Butler of the Bengal Fusiliers.³

After the occupation of the Yellow House, Outram

¹ "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., vol. i. p. 295.

² Ibid., p. 297.

³ Ibid., p. 298.

Right
attack.

Guns
placed to
enfilade
the
enemy's
outer line
of works.

Lieut.
Butler
swims
across the
river.

drove the enemy rapidly through the old Irregular Cavalry lines and suburbs to the Badshah Bagh. "The fortified gates of the strong walled enclosure were blown open and the garden occupied, and two guns found by our troops."¹ He then had placed in position on his extreme left, at a bend of the river near the village of Jagauli, three guns and a howitzer to enfilade the enemy's outer line of works along the canal. A battery of two 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers was placed near the river to keep down the fire from the town. Two companies of the Bengal Fusiliers under the command of Captain Salusbury were sent to the left to protect the guns meant to enfilade the enemy's works. When they were unlimbered and Major Nicholson of the Royal Engineers opened fire, he remarked that the lines seemed deserted. Captain Salusbury proposed getting boats and sending a party across; but Major Nicholson considered it would be hazardous to diminish the force protecting the guns. Then Lieutenant Butler of the 1st Fusiliers, and four men, volunteered to go down to the river and call to the Highlanders, who were about 600 yards on the other side. They reached the bank, but in vain they shouted to the Highlanders. Then Butler took off his coat and plunged into the river, there 60 yards wide and running swiftly. After much buffeting he reached the other bank and entered the works from the rear. Mounting the parapet, he attracted the attention of Sir Colin and his staff in the balcony of the Mar-

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 479.

tinière. A staff officer rode down to Butler, who told him that the enemy had left the works, and strongly urged that men should be sent at once to occupy the deserted batteries. But the staff officer cantered off for instructions. Butler stood on the parapet wet and cold, without arms, a target for the mutineers, who twice fired at him. He again began to signal. A Highland officer advanced, and, understanding the importance of securing the bastion, ordered his company to advance and secured it without delay, the rest of the Highlanders and Sikhs following. Having handed over the bastion, Butler again entered the stream and swam back to his own side. For this cool deed of daring Lieutenant Butler was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Lieut.
Butler
awarded
the
Victoria
Cross.

The Sikhs and Highlanders, having secured the bastion, advanced along the line of defences, sweeping stray rebels before them till they reached the vicinity of Banks' house. It might have been taken, but as no heavy guns were up, it would have cost us many lives. Though vehement and fiery by nature on the battlefield, Sir Colin always manifested perfect self-control. As a commander he was always willing to run a legitimate risk, and was prepared to sacrifice men to gain an adequate object, but he never threw away the life of a single soldier. His Fabian tactics not unfrequently exposed him to the reproaches of his own men : some of the hot-headed wished him to storm Banks' house that evening ; but what William the Silent said of himself was true of Sir Colin : he heeded not " the babble of soldiers " — a great and rare virtue in a general.

10th
March.
Left
attack.
Capture
of Banks'
house.

CHAPTER XLII

EARLY in the morning of the 10th a battery (No. 3-L) for four guns, one howitzer, and three 8-inch mortars, was established under natural cover at a corner of the Martinière Park to breach and shell Banks' house. The breach was soon made, and the plumes of the Scotch bonnets were seen waving along the ramparts as they advanced in skirmishing order. When they approached the building the firing ceased, and, rushing through the building, they soon took possession of it without much opposition. Thus the first part of Sir Colin's plan of attack had been completely accomplished with little loss of life.

The second part of the plan now came into operation. The first step was to convert Banks' house into a strong military post, and to construct a battery (No. 4-L) for four guns and eight mortars near it to breach and bombard the Begum's Palace, a large pile¹ of buildings and enclosures immediately in front and covering the Kaiser Bagh. In addition to this, two guns (one 8-inch gun and one

¹ "This is a block of buildings of great size, forming the southern point of the second line of defence. We could see the elaborately ornamented gables and entablatures, with minarets and gilt spires of the palace above the walls in front of us."—"My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, vol. i. p. 308.

"State Papers," vol. iii., Appendix F.

8-inch howitzer) of the Naval Brigade and six 5½-inch mortars were placed in position near to the bungalows to the right of Banks' house. Their fire was also directed against the Begum's Palace and the bastion in front of Hazratgunge. These batteries were erected and the guns brought up with such energy that they opened fire very soon after Banks' house was in our possession. Communications were also made between the bungalows and Banks' house.

Beyond the river Outram was occupied in strengthening his position. Roadways for guns were made through the Badshah Bagh, and the Dilaram (Heart's Rest) House, situated near the river, was seized and fortified under a heavy fire from the Chutter Munzil on the opposite bank. Hope Grant occupied himself the while patrolling the vicinity. One patrol under Brigadier Hagart pursued a body of rebel troops to a village, which was set on fire. On their return they reported that Major Sandford¹ of the 5th Punjab Irregular Cavalry, having entered the village, had not come back. Campbell, a gallant officer belonging to Probyn's Horse, with three men went in search of him. They found at the foot of a wall Sandford's helmet with a hole through it, but his body could not be seen. While they were searching for it the enemy opened on them a smart fire from a small loopholed fort. Two bullets struck one of the Sikhs in the arm and thigh. He called out to his officer

10th
March.
Right
attack.

Major
Sandford.

Gallant
action of
Lieut.
Campbell.

¹ Outram writes : "A most valuable young officer."—"State Papers," vol. iii. p. 479.

to save him, and Campbell carried him away amidst a shower of bullets. On his return Campbell reported what had occurred, and the Brigadier having dismounted a party of the 2nd Dragoon Guards to keep down the fire from the fort, Lieutenant Probyn volunteered to take some of his men into the village and search afresh for Sandford. "Campbell accompanied him, and amongst the party was a Native officer, a splendid type of a Sikh. At the wall where the helmet had been discovered they found a hole, through which they crawled, and then on the top of the house they saw poor Sandford's body. But how were they to get to it without incurring fresh loss from the fire of the enemy? The Sikhs understood the business. Punjab Singh (the Native officer) and some others threw themselves flat on the roof, crept up to the body, let it drop from the wall, and then scrambled over themselves. It was gallantly done."¹

11th
March.
Bombard-
ment of
the Begum
Kothi.

All night the guns near Banks' house smote the Begum's Palace, and the mortars sent their flight of shells, "which shot like showers of falling stars into the city." "At daybreak Peel's enormous guns were brought to bear on the palace, and they battered away at it hour after hour, while from across the river Outram enfiladed the enemy's works, and, with two additional 24-pounders, played on the Mess-House and the Kaiser Bagh from Banks' house." Sir Colin, with field-glasses, watched the effect of every shot and shell. "A puff of blue smoke at the Naval Brigade Battery;

¹ "The Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., p. 254.

then a cloud of dust at the Begum Kothi ; a cloud of blue smoke beyond Banks' bungalow ; then another cloud of dust at Begum Kothi ; a cloud of blue smoke in the King's Garden ; a shell describing a parabola through the air ; another cloud of smoke at the Begum Kothi ; then crack, crack, as the shells burst among the rebels."¹ When the heavy volumes of dust and smoke rolled away from the Begum's Palace, high above its walls were seen its richly "ornamented gables and entablatures with minarets and gilt spires," and roofs of the adjacent buildings swarming with rebels. Their guns boldly bellowed forth a reply, and the fire on both sides waxed hotter and hotter. The day was far advanced, and no breach was reported as practicable. Reluctantly Sir Colin Campbell left Banks' house in order to receive the Maharajah Jung Bahadur, who had arrived the day before, and was about to pay him a State visit.

That morning the headquarters camp had been moved to the Dilkoosha. Before the chief mess tent had been erected a large canopy for the formal reception. A battery of guns and a squadron of the 9th Lancers were drawn up on the flank, and a strong guard of honour of the 42nd Highlanders, their band and pipers, at the entrance. Doffing his working dress—blue patrol jacket, brown corduroy breeches, high boots, and a pith hat—for the scarlet and gold lace and cocked hat of a general's uniform,

Reception
of Jung
Bahadur.

¹ "From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Indian Service, vol. ii. p. 429.

Sir Colin arrived punctual to the moment. "Four o'clock came ; no signs of Jung Bahadur. A quarter of an hour passed by ; the Chief walked up and down with one hand behind his back and the other working nervously like one who is impatient or expectant. At half-past four the regular cannonading close at hand ceased and up rose a startling, heavy, rolling fire of musketry. We all knew what it meant. The assault on the Begum Kothi was being delivered."¹ Louder and louder rang the musketry. Then was heard the boom of the saluting guns, the band began to play, the word of command rang out "Stand to your arms!" and at the end of the lane the Maharajah was descried with his dazzling company. He wore a jacket of red cloth covered with jewels, and the splendour of his brothers who accompanied him was hardly less glorious or conspicuous than his own. His well-knit figure and the dignity of his carriage and manner struck the eyes of the spectators. Closely attended by his suite, he slowly walked up between the stalwart line of soldiers. The Commander-in-Chief stepped out to meet him. Jung Bahadur, with white kid-gloved hand raised to his glittering crest, above which nodded a plume of Bird-of-Paradise feathers, delicately beaded with emeralds and diamonds, advanced towards him and took his outstretched hand. Then seating themselves on chairs the two Chiefs exchanged, through an interpreter, formal compliments. Jung Bahadur's face brightened when Sir Colin alluded to their both

¹ "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., vol. i. p. 309.

being Highlanders. As they were conversing, a tall figure clad in a grey tunic, covered with the dust and dirt of battle, walked up the aisle of men, his long sword clanking on the ground. "I am directed by the Chief of the Staff, sir, to tell you that we have taken the Begum's Palace with little loss, and we are now in possession of it and the adjoining buildings." The speaker was Hope Johnstone, the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff. Sir Colin told with much vivacity the news to his illustrious visitor. Then, much to the delight of the Nepaulese Prince, six "as fine Highlanders as ever trod on heather" walked past him playing a heart-stirring pibroch. The Chief rose, Sir Colin introduced his officers, and the historic ceremonial came to an end.

Napier reported two breaches practicable, and Sir Edward Lugard made his dispositions for the attack. The storming brigade under the command of Adrian Hope consisted of the 93rd Highlanders, the 4th Punjab Rifles, with some Gurkha troops in support. To the 93rd was assigned the honour of leading the assault, and Brigadier Hope divided them into two divisions: the right wing, under Lieutenant-Colonel Leith Hay, was to assault and enter by the front breach; the left wing was to attack the breach on the flank of the position by the battery at Banks' house. At 4 P.M. the large guns became silent and the enemy's musketry fire slackened. The 93rd emerged from the enclosures, and, advancing up the road, got under cover of some ruined buildings. Then Hope gave the signal. Both wings dashed

*Storming
of the
Begum
Kothi.*

from their cover, and over the field rose the Highland slogan as a wave of tartans swept forward, unruffled by the storm of musketry sent from wall and loophole. The right wing, on reaching the high wall forming the outer barrier of the palace, found in front of them a huge parapet of earth with a steep scarp and ditch nearly eighteen feet wide and ten feet deep. Instantly Captain Middleton and four grenadiers leapt into it and were quickly followed. Hay, Middleton, and Wood got shovelled up the ditch on to the berm, and, having obtained a footing, proceeded to pull up the men. Then one by one they pushed through the breach, for the enemy, being taken by surprise, had left it undefended. At the same moment the left wing, headed by the gallant Clarke waving his claymore and shouting, "Come on 93rd," reached the right breach.

No sooner were the right wing within the works than they found themselves in front of another high wall, and a close and destructive fire was poured into them from it. John Macleod, the Pipe-Major, who had been the first man to push his way through the breach, at once began to play the bagpipes, heedless of the bullets that flew around him. Having no means of protecting themselves against the fire or of returning it with effect against men who were under cover of their battlements, the Highlanders made a dash at a small narrow hole which had been made by our 9-pounder in the walls. But they were held in check by the enemy's musketry until some of them broke open the

blocked up windows and were shoved through.¹ Every room-door, gallery, or gateway was barricaded. At every window or coign of vantage was a rebel marksman. In threading their way through the dark narrow passages many a man fell shot down by an unseen foe. Barrier after barrier was forced, and in small parties, headed by their officers, the soldiers pushed on till the great inner square was reached. Here a host of sepoys stood ready to receive them. The assailants were few in numbers, but the Highlanders stood unappalled. The command was given, "Keep together and use the bayonet," and a firmer grasp of the weapon told of the stern spirit which wrought within. Then with piercing steel they forced their way into the dense mass, being well supported by the Sikhs, who kept pace and stroke in the tremendous conflict. No quarter was given, no quarter was expected. The Highlanders and Sikhs drove the insurgents from court to court. They fought them in the cloisters and they bayoneted them in the small dark rooms. Bands of rebels, maddened with fear at the bags of gunpowder with lighted slow matches thrown into their lairs, rushed out and perished on the bayonets of their foes. For two hours the blind and bloody contest raged.

Meanwhile the left wing, after entering the right

¹ "In the court I met Adrian Hope, and as he had actually led one of the storming-parties, I gladly availed myself of his offer to be my guide. He had got in through a window through which he had been shoved by his men, and he came headlong on a group of sepoys in the dark room inside, who bolted at once at the apparition of the huge red Celt, who tumbled upon them sword and pistol in hand."—"My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., vol. i. p. 313.

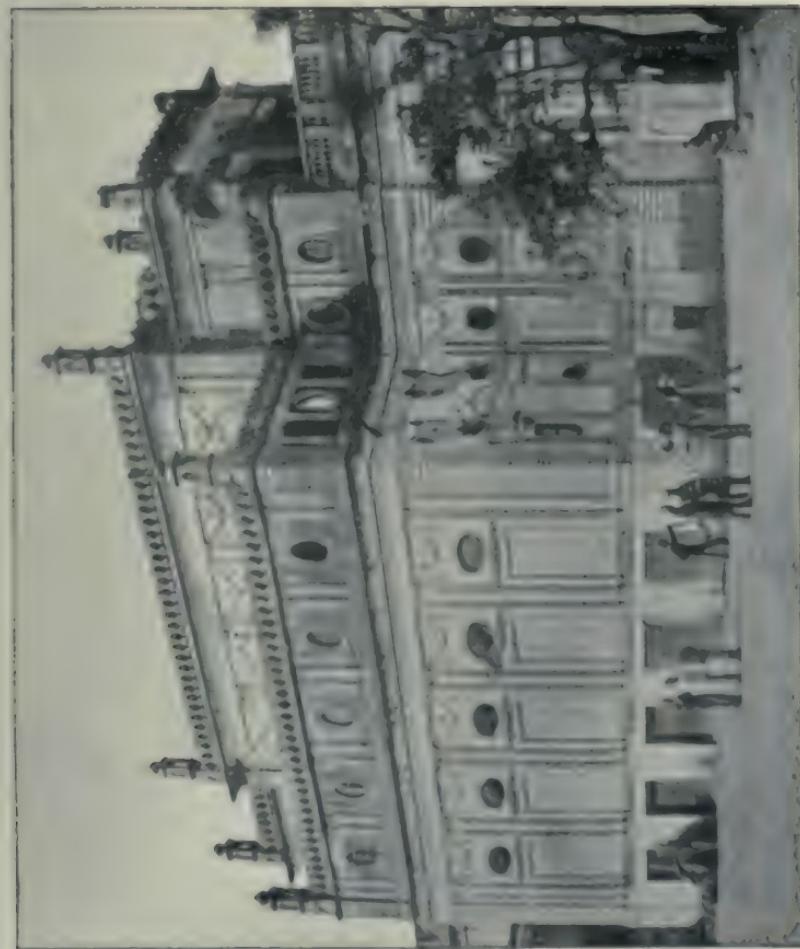
breach, drove a body of the rebels with great slaughter through some of the buildings of the huge pile, and followed them towards the Imambara and the outworks of the Kaiser Bagh. Two companies of the 93rd, under Captain Stewart, went too far in pursuit, and came under a heavy fire from a loopholed wall at the end of a street. A *serai* on the right of the road leading past the Begum's Palace from Banks' bungalow had been taken at the same time as the palace by the 42nd, and a company of them, under Captain John Drysdale, were sent to Stewart's succour, and had five men killed in a moment. Night now began to thicken and the rebel masses disappeared, the tumult in the palace subsided, and the troops bivouacked in its courts under a strong guard. Morn revealed a miserable sight, the ground cumbered with the bodies of several hundred sepoys, and the low rooms choked with corpses, many of them smouldering in their cotton clothes.¹ "The capture of the Begum's Kothi was," Sir Colin writes in his despatch, "the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege."

Captain Hodson mortally wounded.

In that great death-wrestle many brave men went down on both sides. But no braver man fell than Hodson, whose work of fighting now came to an end. He was with Donald Stewart² in the

¹ "I looked at two such rooms, where, through the dense smoke, I could see piles of bodies, and I was obliged to own that the horrors of the hospital at Sebastopol were far exceeded by what I witnessed."—*The Times*, 29th April 1858.

² "It was current in camp, and the story has often been repeated, that Hodson was killed in the act of looting. This certainly was not the case. Hodson was sitting with Donald Stewart in the headquarters camp, when the signal gun announced that the attack on the



THE BEGUM KOHIE.

headquarters camp when a signal gun announced that the Begum Kothi was about to be attacked. He mounted his horse and rode towards the mortar batteries, where he found Brigadier Napier reconnoitring the breach. Hodson said laughingly, "I am come to take care of you." "The signal was given for the troops to advance," writes Napier, "and we watched their progress and entry into the building. All serious opposition soon ceased, and we followed through the breach into the palace." Hodson had got separated from Napier in the crowd when two soldiers came running to him and asked for some powder-bags. Showing the men where to go for them, he rushed forward to the spot from whence they had come. "Where are the rebels?" he cried out. Forbes-Mitchell, a sergeant in the 93rd, pointed to the door of the room, and Hodson shouting "Come on!" was about to rush in. "I implored him not to do so," writes Forbes-Mitchell,

Begum Kothi was about to take place. Hodson immediately mounted his horse and rode off in the direction of the city. Stewart, who had been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to accompany the troops, and send an early report to His Excellency of the result of the assault, had his horse ready, and followed Hodson so closely that he kept him in sight until within a short distance of the fighting, when Stewart stopped to speak to the officer in charge of Peel's guns, which had been covering the advance of the troops. This delayed Stewart for a few minutes only, and as he rode into the courtyard of the palace a Highland soldier handed him a pistol saying, 'This is your pistol, sir; but I thought you were carried away mortally wounded a short time ago.' Stewart at once conjectured that the man had mistaken him for Hodson. In fact they were not much alike, but both were tall, well made, and fair, and Native soldiers had frequently saluted one for the other. It is clear from this account that Hodson could not have been looting, as he was wounded almost as soon as he reached the palace."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., vol. i. p. 404.

saying it was certain death ; "wait for the powder ; I have sent men for powder-bags." Hodson made a step forward, and "I put out my hand to seize him by the shoulder to pull him out of the line of the doorway, when he fell back shot through the chest."¹ He gasped out, "Oh, my wife!" and immediately choked with blood. His orderly, a large powerful Sikh, carried him in his arms out of danger. Forbes-Mitchell helped to lift him into a litter, and they took him to Banks' house, where his wound was examined and dressed. It was mortal.²

Occupation
of the Shah
Nujjeef.

During the day two Engineers, Medley and Lang, with four natives, crept up to the Kuddum Russool, and found the little building deserted. Looking down into the garden of the Shah Nujjeef, it also appeared to be abandoned. Medley went back to ask for men to go and take the Shah Nujjeef, and having procured 100 men and 50 sappers, he returned, and on reaching it he found the place evacuated. "But as we were only 200 yards from the enemy's second line of intrenchments a sharp musketry fire was opened upon us from them, and we had an officer and one or two men wounded.

¹ "Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny," by William Forbes-Mitchell, late Sergeant, 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, p. 211. Forbes-Mitchell adds : "It will thus be seen that the assertion that Major Hodson was looting when he was killed is untrue. No looting had been then commenced, not even by Jung Bahadoor's Gurkhas. Major Hodson lost his life by his own rashness ; but to say he was looting is a cruel slander on one of the bravest of Englishmen."

² "He was shot through the right side of the chest in the region of the liver, the ball entering in front and going out behind. There had been profuse bleeding, and I saw that the wound was most likely mortal."—Letter from Dr Anderson, "Hodson of Hodson's Horse," by George H. Hodson, M.A., p. 287.

We set the sappers to work to make the place defensible, and at my suggestion 100 more men were thrown into the place."¹

Whilst Sir Colin Campbell had been pushing forward on the south of the Goomtee, Outram had been operating with equal success on the left bank. During the night of the 10th a battery (No. 4-R) of four 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers and five mortars was erected in front of the garden of the Badshah Bagh, and it opened fire at daybreak on the Kaiser Bagh. At the same time Outram began his attack on the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges. His right column² formed on the Fyzabad road, under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Walpole, and worked its way, covered by its skirmishers, through bushes and trees. "Hidden in the jungle or in the small cottages, which, snugly enclosed among the trees, formed excellent temporary fortresses, were parties of the enemy, who opened a smart fire on us as we advanced. Skirmishers were pushed forward, and two guns brought into action abreast on the road to riddle the wood with case-shot and to drive out our hidden foes." Slowly driving the enemy before them, the right wing went forward, till they took

11th
March.
Right
attack.

¹ "A Year's Campaign in India," by Captain Medley, R.E., p. 176.

"It appeared afterwards that the Chief considered our position too far in advance of the main attack on the left, and as there was no necessity to risk anything, we were ordered back."

² The right column consisted of—

The 79th Highlanders.

2nd and 3rd Battalions Rifle Brigade.

1st Bengal Fusiliers.

Captain Gibbons' Light Field Battery, and two 24-pounders.

possession of a large mosque with an extensive walled garden attached, which commanded the approach to the iron bridge. The left column,¹ under the command of Colonel Pratt, proceeded along the lower road skirting the river. "The enemy opened three guns on them from the opposite side of the river, and also held the ground in great strength in front of the Rifle skirmishers, commanded by Brevet-Major Warren, Captains Wilmot and Thynne, and Lieutenant Grey, who all behaved most gallantly." Fighting their way through a series of intricate streets, the column occupied the houses down to the river's bank and seized the head of the iron bridge, to the right of which Outram placed in battery his two 24-pounder guns. Lieutenant Moorsom, who had been deputed to guide the column, whilst reconnoitring in front of it was struck on the head by a bullet, and died instantly. "I deplore sincerely," wrote Outram, "the loss of this most gallant and promising young officer, whose soldier-like zeal and acquirements rendered him an ornament to his profession."² The Rifles also deplored the loss of a young comrade whose bright and brave nature caused him to be loved by officers and men. Captain Thynne was lying down in the

Outram
seizes the
head of
the iron
bridge.

Death of
Lieut.
Moorsom.

¹ The left column consisted of—

Two 24-pounder guns.

Three field battery guns, Royal Artillery.

23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

2nd Punjab Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt.

These two columns were connected by a strong chain of skirmishers.
—"State Papers," vol. iii. p. 480.

² "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 480.

heat of the day on a native cot in one of the houses captured by his company, when a round-shot coming through the wall struck him on the arms and thigh, and smashed the bones into many pieces. The limbs were amputated, but the shock was too great, and in about an hour he died.

Outram, having left the Bengal Fusiliers posted in the mosque, proceeded with the remainder of the right column in the direction of the Fyzabad road. He soon met Hope Grant's cavalry and artillery, who had been operating on the extreme right, and then turned towards the stone bridge, Hope Grant covering his advance on the right.¹ As his men moved through a wood, they surprised the camp of the 15th Irregular Horse, whose standards and two guns were captured by the Rifles, the enemy flying in all directions over the plain, many being cut up by our cavalry." Then through the strong suburbs Outram forced his way without much opposition till he reached the stone bridge. But as the enemy were able to command it with guns as well as with mus-

Outram
advances
to the
stone
bridge.

¹ "Outram's advance was covered by Hope Grant's Horse Artillery and cavalry; but we had to keep at some distance away to the right, in order to avoid houses and walled enclosures. Soon after crossing the Sitapur road we heard guns to our left, and, proceeding at a smart trot, came up with Outram just as he was about to attack a large body of the rebels, who, finding themselves in an awkward position, with the river in their rear and their retreat by the iron bridge cut off, made but a feeble resistance before they broke and fled. Some few escaped by the stone bridge, but the greater number, including the whole of the mutinous 15th Irregular Cavalry, made for the old cantonment. We pursued with our cavalry, and very few of them got away."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., vol. i. p. 401.

ketry from the tops of several high and strong stone houses from the opposite side of the river, and the position was, moreover, too distant and the approaches too intricate to warrant his holding it permanently with the force at his disposal, Outram withdrew to the mosque held by the Bengal Fusiliers.

Summary
of opera-
tions on
the 11th
of March.

On the 11th of March Sir Colin had achieved a great step in his project. He had on the right bank of the river captured the Begum's Palace and secured the Secundra Bagh and the Shah Nujjeef. Outram on the left bank had advanced as far as the iron bridge and completed his arrangements for its occupation.

Death of
Captain
Hodson.

In the night Hodson lay at Banks' house suffering great pain. He talked of his wound, which he himself thought was mortal. He was very weak, but by means of stimulants he rallied and slept for a few hours. Early next morning his old and tried friend Napier came to see him. He was quite sensible and composed. He spoke of his wife, whom he so dearly loved, and the brothers and sisters at home. Napier had to leave him for a time, and when he returned he found him in severe pain. He said, "I think I am dying. The doctor gave me hopes, but I do not believe in them. I should like to have seen the end of the campaign, and to have returned to England to see my friends, but it has not been permitted. I trust I have done my duty." "I could have no difficulty," says Napier, "in answering this question as

every one in the country proclaims it." The stern exigency of the hour demanded Napier's presence at his post, and before he had time to return to him Hodson had died, calm and composed at his last hour as he was in the front of danger and battle.¹ He was in his thirty-seventh year. Late in the same evening he was carried to his rest. Sir Colin Campbell and the officers of the garrison followed the coffin to the garden at the back of the Martinière. After the words, "Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live," had been said, and the body was being lowered into the grave, then "all the old warrior's courage and self-possession," says an officer who was present, "could no longer control the tears." The day after the funeral Sir Colin wrote to the widow: "The whole army, which admires his talents, his bravery, and his military skill, deplores his loss, and sympathises with you in your irreparable bereavement."

¹ "Then fell one of the bravest in the Indian army, an officer whose name has been brought too often before the public by those in high command to need my humble word in praise. There was not a man before Delhi who did not know Hodson, always active, always cheery: it did one's heart good to look at his face when all felt how critical was our position. Ask any soldier who was the bravest man before Delhi? who most in the saddle—who foremost? and nine out of ten in the infantry will tell you 'Hodson'; in the artillery as many will name 'Tomba.' I once heard one of the Fusiliers say, 'Whenever I see Captain Hodson go out, I always pray for him, for he is sure to be in danger.' Yet it was not only in the field that Hodson was to be valued: his head was as active as his hand was strong, and I feel sure when we who knew him heard of his death, no one but felt that there was indeed a vacancy in our ranks."—"The First Bengal European Fusiliers"—"Blackwood's Magazine."

12th and
13th of
March.

CHAPTER XLIII

DURING the 12th and 13th Napier, avoiding the main road, which was well defended by the enemy's bastions, pushed his approach with the greatest judgment through the enclosures and houses which lay between the Begum Kothi and the small Imambara, the next place it was necessary to storm.¹ The heavy guns opened breaches where necessary, and the sappers, supported by the infantry, pressed slowly but steadily on, breaking open communications, so as to allow ample support being furnished from the rear when required. A hot fire of musketry was kept up, as the besiegers slowly worked their way forward from the neighbouring houses, to which the covering party briskly replied.

On the 12th Jung Bahadur, with a force of about 9000 men and with 25 field-guns drawn by men, had arrived and taken his position in our lines. On the 13th, at the request of the Commander-in-Chief, he moved close to the canal. On the afternoon of that day the troops at the Begum Kothi were relieved, and General Lugard's place was taken by General Franks.

¹ The small Imambara must not be confounded with the great Imambara, between the Muchee Bhawan and the Moosa Bagh, close to the river Goomtee.

During the night of the 12th Sir James Outram was reinforced with a number of heavy guns and mortars, and all the time they were throwing shells into the city the heavy guns were knocking at the Imambara.

At daylight (14th March) two breaches were considered so far advanced that arrangements were made for the assault. The storming-party, consisting of two companies of the 10th Foot and one hundred of Brasyer's Sikhs, were posted behind a wall, with only the breadth of a road between them and the wall of the Imambara enclosure. A strong working party of sappers with scaling-ladders, powder-bags, and tools were drawn up in rear of them. The whole of Brigadier Russell's brigade of General Franks's division was to support the assault. The enemy lined the top of the walls and all the neighbouring houses, and kept up a brisk fire. After an anxious but not long interval a hurrah burst forth from the men of Russell's Brigade. They "saw first a Sikh and then Brasyer himself and another Sikh make their appearance on that part of the Imambara which had been played upon by the 68-pounder."¹ The Imambara had been entered. While the storming-parties were being formed up Lieutenant Beaumont, R.E., worked from the left of the advanced post through a few earthen walls to a house on our side of the road between our front and the Imambara. He was accompanied by Major Brasyer and some of the Sikhs, and succeeded in blowing in the wall and driving the enemy out

14th
March.
Capture
of the
Little
Imambara.

¹ "Capture of Lucknow," "Calcutta Review," June 1860.

of the houses, which proved to be in connection with the trench intended to flank the outer walls of the Imambara. He next blew in the outer wall of the Imambara, and Brasyer and his Sikhs rushed in at the moment that the storming-party had been ordered to arms.¹ Their unexpected entry through the opening made by Beaumont checked resistance, and the assaulting columns passed the breaches without difficulty and seized, as rapidly as openings could be made for them, the enclosure of the king's coachman's house and the king's brother's house.² The roofs of both houses overlooked the Kaiser Bagh, and the king's brother's house adjoined and overlooked the eastern extremity of the third line of the enemy's works running along the immediate front of the Kaiser Bagh. The second line of the enemy's fortifications had now been turned, and Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineers, was recommended by Brigadier Russell to stop the further advance and obtain secure possession of the ground that they had passed over. But the Sikhs could not be restrained. Some of them had followed on the heels of the flying foe, and made their way into an outlying court of the Kaiser Bagh on the left. From the roofs of the houses a party of them, under the personal command of Brasyer and some men of the 90th, whom young Havelock, Franks's Adjutant-General, had led to the spot, plied with such destructive musketry the three nearest bastions of the intrenchment below that the enemy abandoned their guns, and Brasyer, leading his Sikhs by

Advance
on the
Kaiser
Bagh.

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii., Appendix F.

² Ibid.

a deserted bastion, proceeded to clear the enclosures on the right of the Kaiser Bagh. Havelock called up the 10th to support Brasyer, and he made his way from house to house.

The walls and the enclosures were pierced with loopholes through which the insurgents commenced a well-sustained fusillade. They were under shelter, and at so short a distance every shot told. But our infantry pushed on. Their ranks grew thinner and thinner. Men had to be left to keep possession of the places as fast as they took them. At length about fifty of them reached the Cheenee Bazar which skirted the Kaiser Bagh and lay inside the third line of defences. The enemy, seeing their small numbers, began to gather around both flanks, when Havelock with some Sikhs charged along the line of intrenchment, drove out the rebels, seized two adjoining bastions, and with their guns checked and scattered off a large body of rebels who, finding that the second line of defences had been turned, were making for the Kaiser Bagh. General Franks and Brigadier Napier now came up with strong supports, and a consultation was held in a gateway as to what was to be done.

Shortly after 11 o'clock an orderly rode up to headquarters with a piece of folded paper in his hand and delivered it at one of the tents. The Commander-in-Chief with all the headquarters staff quickly mounted their horses and galloped off to the city. "As we rode the news flew from mouth to mouth, We are in the Kaiser Bagh!" Loud were the cheers from the men as Sir Colin passed

them marching past towards the citadel of the enemy. He dismounted, and, amidst the shouts of the troops, walked up the steps of the Imambara. Sir Colin had planned that the operations of the day should end by its capture. He had been led to expect a desperate resistance at the Kaiser Bagh, and had determined that after due siege had been laid it should be stormed next day by the Highlanders. But after a brief consultation at the gateway, Napier and Franks came to the conclusion that they were perfectly able to take it. More troops were sent forward from the rear. Orders were despatched for the troops holding the Secunder Bagh and other posts in front of the second line of defence to advance and attack the Moti Mahal, the Mess-House, and the other intervening points. Soon "all the well-known ground of former defence and attack—the Mess-House, the Tara Kotee, the Moti Mahal, and the Chutter Munzil—were rapidly occupied by the troops."¹ Some of them pushed forward and entered the third line of the enemy's fortifications.

Capture of
the Kaiser
Bagh.

When Franks had been reinforced he sent forward his troops, and as soon as an opening had been made from the Cheenee Bazar, they entered the courtyard of Saidut Ali's Mosque at the back of the Kaiser Bagh. The Sikhs, 150 in number, led by Brasyer and some fifty men of the 97th, drove the enemy from their guns in the courtyard of

¹ From General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Camp La Martinière, Lucknow, 22nd March 1858.—"State Papers," vol. iii. p. 470.



SHAH JAHAN'S MAUSOLEUM IN THE KAISER BAGH.

the mosque, and followed them so closely that they found themselves in the principal square of the Kaiser Bagh. Here a large body of the enemy were ready to oppose them. Brasyer was vastly outnumbered, but he plunged his handful of men into them with the bayonet, and they bore them onward till they forced them to the Badshah Munzil, the special residence of the king. The rebels now began to collect in their rear, while from the windows of the palace came gusts of bullets. Slowly the small band fell back till they reached the bronze gate on the north-west side of the Kaiser Bagh. Here they took refuge. But outside the gateway in their rear was a second gateway, and in front of it the enemy had a gun protected by a loopholed wall. The gun opened fire, and was followed by a peal of musketry from the gateway. From the palace buildings on their front the enemy plied them with musketry. A supreme moment. Then Brasyer and Lieutenant Cary, 37th Native Infantry, burst open a window in front of the gun, and jumping down were soon followed by several Sikhs. The gun was captured and the enemy driven to the second gateway. They were kept there in check till reinforcements arrived. Then the storming regiments getting mixed, soldiers and sailors, Sikhs and Gurkhas, fighting hard, drove bodies of rebels through courts "as large as the Temple Gardens, filled with marble statues and marble fountains." The masses were broken, but multitudes of armed men found refuge in the buildings, and every palace became a fortress.

From the green jalousies and venetian blinds closing the apertures which pierce the walls in double rows, a stream of bullets was poured into the square, and the marble pavement was stained with the blood of many a Sikh and soldier. Building after building was taken, and blood thirst, revenge, and greed for gold drove the assailants mad. The strong boxes of the Princes of Oudh were burst open, and their gold and silver glutted the avarice of the Sikh and the British soldier. Rough hands tore away the silks, velvets, brocades, laces, and gems accumulated by the lights of the harem. Wrought silver plates were torn from the *musnud* (throne) of some favourite mistress or queen; the monuments of Western and Eastern art were broken to pieces, and fragments of rare china and of crystal vessels strewed the floors. When night put an end to the pillage, the palace of the Kaiser had become a ruined charnel-house.¹

Next day fighting was renewed, and bodies of the enemy who held the lower storeys on the north side were driven out. The sappers were occupied in checking the fires, then burning in three parts of the squares, and in destroying gunpowder. Guards were placed over the palaces, and plundering was stopped by order.²

¹ "In the fall and sack of great cities an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions, and when these passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilised and savage man."—"Gibbon's Roman Empire," Milman, vol. vii. p. 174.

² "March 15th.—To-day plundering is stopped by order. . . . I visited the Kaiser Bagh again to-day. Every yard would fill a canvas under the hands of Lewis or David Roberts. The place is full of powder,

On the morning of the 12th Outram sent a strong party to occupy the wide street which ran down to the iron bridge. Up it there swept a pelting fire of case-shot and bullets, which rendered it unsafe. The English and Sikhs, who occupied the houses on both sides, replied by a steady fire at every object visible on the house-tops and in the windows of the mansions and mosques along the other bank of the river, which was here only thirty or forty yards wide. The insurgents, however, directed their principal fire upon the batteries of heavy guns to the right and left of the bridge. A detachment of infantry, picked shots told off for the purpose, had been sent down to them; but it required all their exertion and all their skill to keep down the rebel fire, so that the gunners might work the guns without grievous loss.

On the morning of the 14th the increased thunder of the heavy guns across the river told the picquet at the bridge that the Chief was near the Little Imambara. In the afternoon they heard that not only the Little Imambara but also the Kaiser Bagh had fallen. All was got ready for a move across. The horses were hooked on to the guns. The infantry, in obedience to orders, opened a heavy fire on the opposite bank; the enemy responded by a heavy cannonade of round-shot,

14th
March.
Right
attack.

and explosions are frequent. If the Tuilleries, the Louvre, Versailles, Sevastri, the Winter Palace, were all to be blended together, with an *entourage* of hovels worthy of Gallipoli, and an interior of gardens worthy of Kew, they would represent the size, at all events, of the palaces of the Kaiser Bagh and the gardens inside."—"My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, M.D., vol. i. p. 337.

Gallant
action of
Lieut.
Wynne
and Ser-
geant
Paul.

shell, and case. Lieutenant Wynne and Sergeant Paul of the fourth company of Royal Engineers volunteered to undertake the removal of the barricade which had been thrown across the iron bridge. It was a work of supreme danger.¹ They advanced under cover of the parapet of the bridge till they reached the barricade. They then began to remove the sandbags one at a time, and passed them to a line of men extended to receive them. After one or two had been removed, the enemy, discovering what was going on, opened a hot fire on them. But, heedless of the bullets whistling around them, Wynne and Paul continued at the work. Bag after bag was removed. Lower and lower they crouched as the shelter diminished. Then they lay on the ground and removed the second lowest tier. The last offered no serious obstacle to the advance of the troops, and they rushed back unharmed through a shower of bullets. All was now ready for crossing the bridge when Outram and staff arrived on the scene. They ascended one of the houses to reconnoitre, and after a short time Outram descended and said: "I am afraid, gentlemen, you will be disappointed when I tell you that I am not going to attack to-day," explaining to us at the same time that Sir Colin Campbell had ordered him not to cross if he saw a chance of *losing a single man*,—a contingency which we could hardly expect to avoid, as the enemy had a 9-pounder gun sweeping the bridge, a discharge or two of grape from which *must* have made some

¹ "History of the Corps of Royal Engineers," by Major-General Whitworth Porter, vol. i. p. 492.

havoc among our advancing troops.¹ "Thus a grand opportunity was lost," writes Lord Roberts. "The bridge, no doubt, was strongly held, but with the numerous guns which Outram could have brought to bear on its defenders, its passage could have been forced without serious loss; the enemy's retreat would have been cut off, and Franks's victory would have been rendered complete, which it certainly was not, owing to Outram's hands having been so effectually tied."²

On the following day Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., was sent out with cavalry on one side towards Sitapur to intercept fugitives, while Brigadier Campbell marched with like orders in the direction of Sundeela on a similar duty. But it was too late. The enemy had scattered themselves over the country and entirely disappeared, "and many of the rebels who still remained in the city seized the opportunity of the cavalry being absent to get away."³

^{15th}
March.
Two
brigades of
cavalry
sent to
pursue the
enemy.

¹ "Up among the Pandies," by Lieutenant Vivian Majendie, p. 212.

"By means of the field telegraph Outram was kept *au fait* as to the movements of Franks's division, and he could have afforded it valuable assistance had he been allowed to cross the Goomtee with his three brigades of infantry. Outram, with his soldierly instinct, felt that this was the proper course to pursue, but in reply to his request to be allowed to push over the river by the iron bridge, he received from the Commander-in-Chief, through Mansfield, the unaccountably strange order that he must not attempt it, if it would entail his losing a single man."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., vol. i. p. 405.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 406.

Lord Roberts writes: "It was not a judicious move on Sir Colin's part to send the cavalry miles away from Lucknow just when they could have been so usefully employed on the outskirts of the city. This was also appreciated when too late, and both brigades were ordered to return, which they did on the 17th."—Ibid., p. 407.

16th
March.
Outram
crosses the
Goomtee.

Capture
of the
Residency.

Capture
of the
Muchee
Bhawan
and the
Great
Imambara.

On the 16th Sir James Outram with the 5th Brigade under the command of Brigadier Russell, comprising the 23rd Fusiliers, the 79th Highlanders, and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, crossed the Goomtee by a bridge of casks opposite the Secunder Bagh. He left Walpole's division to watch the iron and the stone bridges. On reaching the Mess-House Outram was joined by her Majesty's 20th and Brasyer's Sikhs. They then passed through the Kaiser Bagh by an impromptu road made by the sappers and miners and, pushing to the right, made towards the Residency. They were shortly under a smart fire of musketry. The word "Charge!" was given by Sir James, who was in front, and the 23rd Fusiliers, rushing through the gateway, drove the enemy before them at the point of the bayonet, the remainder of the brigade following them in reserve. The Residency was once more in our possession.

When the enemy had been dislodged from the Residency two companies of the 23rd under Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, accompanied by Captain Gould Weston, who pointed out the road, pressed rapidly forward. No sooner did they appear than a scattered fire of musketry was opened on them. Then from above a barricade of wood there came a curl of smoke, and a storm of grape swept over them. Before the sepoys could load again the Fusiliers were at the muzzle, and, with a loud cheer, rushed into the work and captured the brass gun which was in position to sweep the iron bridge. "In the meanwhile the Residency height was crowned by a



LARGE MOSQUE IN THE GREAT IMAMBARA.

Field Battery of Madras Artillery under the command of Major Cotter, which kept up a heavy fire on the Muchee Bhawan." This battery was subsequently withdrawn and replaced by two 68-pounder guns of the Naval Brigade.

On their arrival the Bengal Fusiliers moved to the iron bridge, and shortly afterwards advanced with Brasyer's Sikhs. "In all directions the rattling of musketry was heard, and the bullets fired at a great elevation from distant houses whistled overhead, right and left." The 23rd made their way through a labyrinth of lanes and streets, and as the gallant Brasyer was leading on his Sikhs, he fell deeply wounded. The advance continued under musketry till they reached the high and buttressed wall of the Muchee Bhawan. The old stronghold was precipitately abandoned by the enemy, and the soldiers pursued them to the outer courtyard of the Great Imambara. They dashed across the court so beautifully decorated with rich tessellated pavements, rushed up a noble flight of steps, and seized the great central hall, whose mirrors and chandeliers were said to have cost one of the most magnificent Nawabs of Oudh nearly a million of pounds sterling. A company of the Bengal Fusiliers under Captain Salusbury was pushed on to the Constantinople Gate of Lucknow (the Rumi Darwaza)—a gate built on the model of that which gave to the Court of the Sultan the title of the Sublime Porte. Here another gun was captured. The 79th were then brought up to occupy the Imambara, and the remainder of the Bengal Fusiliers were placed in the

Muchee Bhawan. Five 8-inch mortars were immediately placed in position on the former: two naval guns and five 10-inch mortars were also posted in the Residency, and the whole kept up a steady fire on the city during the night.

Some of the enemy which Outram had driven before him crossed the river by the stone bridge and engaged Walpole's division, but were heavily repulsed. A large mass of the fugitives, however, crossed higher up, and, circling round the division, escaped by the Fyzabad road into the open country, "and we," writes Hope Grant, "were too far to overtake them."

16th
March.
Last
attack
of the
enemy on
the Alum
Bagh.

On the 16th, for the last time, the enemy showed in strength before Alum Bagh, whose garrison had been reduced to about four hundred infantry, the military train, a small detachment of the 7th Hussars, and some artillery. Directing a large body against the front of the position, the insurgents made an effort to turn the left flank with their cavalry and artillery. Their horses came on boldly, but the vigorous action of Olpherts' guns stopped them and sent them back. Meanwhile Vincent Eyre's guns so warmly raked the whole line of their main body of infantry that they too had to retire. Jung Bahadur was now requested to move to his left up the canal and take the post in reverse from which our position at Alum Bagh had been so long annoyed.¹

17th
March.
Jung
Bahadur
advances
up the
canal.

On the morning of the 17th of March the Goorkha force occupied the Char Bagh and Cawnpore road. In the afternoon the enemy in great

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 472.

force attacked their position in the city. "Their flank was, however, turned by the direction of the Maharaja in person, and they were completely defeated, with the loss of ten guns and all the waggons of a light field battery."¹ The same day Outram, continuing his advance, occupied the Dowlutkhana and the Hosainabad Mosque, and took possession of the block of buildings known as Shurfooddowlah's House, which was occupied without any casualty, the enemy precipitately retreating, although they had made every preparation for a vigorous defence.

During the operations, however, a grievous casualty occurred. On Outram's force arriving at the Jumma Musjid, a large quantity of powder in tin cases and leather bags was found in a courtyard in the rear. Outram directed that it should be destroyed under the supervision of the Engineers. It was taken under guard of a party of sappers and miners, commanded by Captain Clerke, R.E., and Lieutenant Brownlow, B.E., to a large and deep well. A line of men was formed, and the cases passed from hand to hand as rapidly as possible. When one of them was being thrown down it struck the side of the well and exploded. A flame of fire flashed up, ignited case after case, caught the powder in the carts, and the two officers and about 40 men were blown up. Some of the party were killed by the explosion, and the rest, including Clerke and Brownlow, were left in a horrible condition. They were removed to the hospital, where the surgeons, with the utmost kindness, applied the usual

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 463.

remedies ; but during the night the sufferers, mad with pain, died, and the next morning they were buried in one of the gardens of the Kaiser Bagh. " During the funeral service cannon and musketry resounded incessantly from the city."

Though the rebels had been steadily driven out of their strongholds, one or two more bouts of fighting had to be done before they were expelled from the vast city. Seven or eight thousand of them had collected in the Moosa Bagh, a large building with numerous courts and enclosures situated on the right bank of the river about five miles north-west of Lucknow. Sir Colin determined to expel them from their last stronghold, and by a vigorous pursuit of his abundant horse, to make the stroke prove final. He therefore ordered Outram with a strong force¹ to press forward along the main road up the right bank of the river and attack the Moosa Bagh in front. Brigadier Campbell, with a brigade of infantry, some guns, and 1500 cavalry, he posted on the left front, and strictly charged him to fall on the enemy when they attempted to retreat. He commanded Hope Grant

¹ It consisted of—

- Two squadrons, 9th Lancers.
- One company, Royal Engineers.
- One company, Native Sappers.
- One Field Battery, Captain Middleton's.
- Two 18-pounders,
- Two 8-inch howitzers, } under Captain Carleton, B.A.
- Four 8-inch mortars,
- Three companies, 20th Regiment.
- Seven companies, 23rd Regiment.
- 79th Highlanders.
- 2nd Punjab Infantry.



THE MOOSA BAGH

on the left bank of the river to assist in dislodging the enemy from the Moosa Bagh, and to attack those who attempted to cross the stream. He directed the Nepalese troops to enter the city from the Char Bagh line of road.

At about half-past 6 A.M. Outram proceeded to the Gao Ghat on the river and found the house belonging to the last Prime Minister of Oudh occupied by the enemy, who opened a sharp fire of musketry on the head of the column. "Two companies of the 79th, led by Lieutenant Everett, being ordered to advance, soon drove the enemy out and took possession of it."¹ Considerable delay here took place in consequence of the Engineers having to break through a thick wall; but, when this had been accomplished, the troops advanced through the suburbs without opposition towards the Moosa Bagh. On reaching open ground, two guns began to play on the column, and the enemy appeared in great strength on the road. Outram immediately ordered out skirmishers from the 79th and 23rd, and Captain Middleton's Battery to the front, "whose fire soon silenced that of the enemy, during which time the Lancers made a flank movement to the enemy's left; and on advance their whole force took to flight, abandoning their guns."² The two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, led by Captain Coles, a young officer of great promise, "followed up the pursuit for about four miles, when they overtook the enemy, captured six guns, and killed about a hundred of them, the rest dispersing over the country and

19th
March.
Capture
of the
Moosa
Bagh.

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 483.

² Ibid., p. 484.

escaping by the aid of the nullahs and broken features of the country. The conduct of the officers and men of the 9th was most gallant, as they undauntedly charged masses of the enemy."¹ A small body of them reached a deep ravine, through which they could not ride. The enemy which lined it opened fire, and Captain Hutchinson fell mortally wounded.² The Field Artillery and Infantry followed in support as rapidly as possible, and captured four more guns. Outram then occupied the Moosa Bagh with the 2nd Punjab Infantry under Major Green, and withdrew the rest of the troops to their quarters in the city.

Brigadier Campbell's failure to intercept the enemy.

Sir Colin's combinations for greater success had, however, been thwarted by some misconception on the part of Brigadier Campbell, and the difficulties of the ground he had to traverse. He left his encampment near the Alum Bagh about 2 A.M., and had a little skirmishing here and there, as he passed by villages and wooded and broken ground. A vedette, approaching too near a small mud fort apparently unoccupied, was fired on. Colonel Charles

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 484.

² "Monday, March 22nd.—Poor Hutchinson died at ten o'clock last night. A piece of his skull was pressing on the brain, which accounts for his condition after receiving the fatal wound. Buried him in the beautiful walled garden at the river-side, below the Dilkoosha, at half-past five this evening. The band of the 42nd Highlanders accompanied the funeral procession to the burial-place. Brigadier Hagart and the whole of the 9th were present.

"The Lancers carried their lances with flags reversed. The deceased (who had an income of £2000 a-year, they say) was laid in the grave sewed up in a bed-quilt and a white sheet. A coffin could not be obtained."—"From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in her Majesty's Indian Forces, vol. ii. p. 454:

Hagart, commanding the 7th Hussars, with a troop—"in point of numbers not more than half a troop"—of the 7th Hussars, some of Hodson's Horse, a few men of the 78th Highlanders, and two of Major Tombs' guns, was sent to dislodge them. After a couple of shells, about fifty men, led by the *Daroga* or headman of the village, rushed out of the fort and came down upon the guns. Hagart ordered the 7th to charge; but the rebels reached them before they could get well in motion. Captain Slade and Cornet Bankes were at once cut down, and Lieutenant Wilkins had his foot cut almost through. Hagart, followed by the wounded Wilkins and some of the men, "rode in at once to where a lot were hacking at poor Bankes on the ground," and saved him for the time at least. "He was dreadfully mutilated, and died fifteen or sixteen days after. We then set to work and killed every one of our opponents. They seemed to have no idea of giving way, but fought desperately. I was told they were fanatics maddened with bhang."¹

Meanwhile Brigadier Campbell continued his march, but he reached his ground too late to intercept the heavy retreating masses of the enemy. He did not even then make a prompt attempt to pursue them. It was not till many thousands of

¹ An account of the engagement, communicated in a manuscript correspondence by Lieutenant-Colonel James Hagart, C.B. (retired), brother of the Brigadier, printed in "Incidents in Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., p. 259. Sir Hope Grant writes: "Everything he [Hagart] had about him bore traces of his gallant struggle."

the enemy had streamed out, and already crossed miles of country, that he was persuaded to allow some of his troops to follow them. The first to get under way were two troops of the 1st Sikh Irregulars, under Captain the Honourable Hugh Chichester, with whom Lieutenant Sandeman¹ and Lieutenant Mackenzie² were sent. After a gallop of several miles they overtook large bodies of the enemy on foot. Their cavalry had disappeared. A series of skirmishes and single combats ensued. The remainder of the 1st Sikhs, the 7th Hussars, and the Military Train came up, and the pursuit grew fiercer. The main road, the lanes and the fields, were covered with bands of fugitives, running for their life. Some stalked along with their muskets on their shoulders, sullenly disdaining to run, and, when assailed by their foes, died fighting hard. Many were killed. After a stern chase of several miles, the enemy having vanished, and the horses being too fatigued to continue the pursuit, Wale gave the order to halt. "Then from the far side of a ravine a solitary figure fired his musket at a group of officers. He must have aimed at the one who, from his full brown beard and apparent age, seemed to him to be the most important, and most likely to be the commander. That shot cost us the life of our brave commanding officer. The gallant Captain Wale fell, mortally wounded by two slugs, one of which passed through his beard into his throat, the other

¹ The late Colonel Sir Robert Groves Sandeman, K.C.S.I., Agent to the Governor-General, and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan.

² Colonel A. R. D. Mackenzie, C.B.

into his mouth. He was instantly avenged, for as the rebel sepoy turned to fly, he also fell dead, hit in the spine by a bullet from the revolver of Captain Chichester.¹ "Sandeman, who was by his side, carried him in his arms to a place of shelter. In a few minutes, to the deep grief of his officers and men, by whom he was loved as few commanding officers are ever loved, poor Wale breathed his last." They buried him in the Moosa Bagh. In that royal garden, now a wilderness of shrubs, stands under the spreading arms of an old mango-tree a solitary tomb, and the inscription informs us it was erected by a comrade to the memory of Captain F. Wale, "who lived and died a Christian soldier."²

Sir Colin's plans had thus been thwarted by an error of execution, and one more fight had to be fought before he achieved his project. The Moulvie of Fyzabad, one of the most daring and resolute of the rebel leaders, returned to Lucknow, and with two guns and a large body of fanatics occupied a fortified building in the heart of the city. On the 21st of March Sir Edward Lugard, with the 93rd Highlanders and the 4th Punjab Rifles, was sent to take the stronghold. The resistance was wonderfully fierce and violent: several of our men were killed, and the commandant³ and second-in-command⁴ of the 4th Punjab Rifles, on whom the brunt of the fighting fell, were desperately wounded. Brigadier Campbell with his cavalry attacked the

¹ "Mutiny Memoirs," by Colonel A. R. D. Mackenzie, C.B., p. 201.

² Ibid. ³ Major A. T. Wilde. ⁴ Captain J. Hood.

insurgents when retreating from the city, inflicting heavy loss, and pursued them for six miles.

So ended the memorable siege of Lucknow. The capture of the Moosa Bagh and the expulsion of the Moulvie from his stronghold marked the victorious close of a series of signal operations which had extended over twenty days. By patience and sound judgment at all times, by a wise boldness at the right moment, Sir Colin seized a long range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, which had been fortified with much skill and labour. He was nobly supported in his well-laid plans by the professional skill of Napier, the determination and dash and vigour of Outram, and the indomitable bravery and resolution of the officers and men of all arms. A gallant soldier himself, who was at his best in the thick of battle, Sir Colin Campbell would never sacrifice his army in vain conflict with hopeless obstacles. In the siege and capture of Lucknow our loss was small. The casualties amounted to only 16 British officers, 3 Native officers, and 108 men killed; 51 British officers, 4 Native officers, and 540 men wounded, while 13 men were missing. "That this great success," writes Lord Canning, "should have been accomplished at so little cost of valuable lives, enhances the honour due to the leader who has achieved it."¹

¹ "State Papers," vol. iii. p. 488.

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THE END.

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BY

G. W. FORREST, C.I.E.

Opinions of the Press.

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